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Deposited in the Clerk's Office. 24 Aug: 1833.
See Vol 8th p. 504.
THE HISTORY
OF THE

MIDDLE STATES,
NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA,
DELAWARE, AND MARYLAND.



ILLUSTRATED BY
TALES, SKETCHES AND ANECDOTES.
WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS.

By LAMBERT LILLY, SCHOOLMASTER.

BOSTON:

PUBLISHED BY ALLEN & TICKNOR.

1833.

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HISTORY
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MIDDLE STATES,

NEW YORK, NEW JERSEY, PENNSYLVANIA,
DELAWARE, AND MARYLAND.

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PREFACE.

THIS work being one of a series, it may be proper to insert here the preface to the first of them, entitled *The Story of the American Revolution*, which explains the plan and design of the author.

“In this little work, the author has attempted to relate the story of our glorious Revolution, in a simple manner, so that it may be interesting and instructive to children and youth. He has not adopted a very regular method of treating the subject, but has attempted to keep the interest of the pupil constantly alive, by a variety of tales, anecdotes and sketches, illustrative of the events with which they are connected.

“It is remarkable, that very few books of history are read by children, except as a task ; while works of fiction are perused with the greatest avidity. Now, if fiction borrows its chief interest from its resemblance to truth, how is this fact to be accounted for ? I think it may be explained by two considerations. In the first place, fiction, being the offspring of the imagination, is generally written with a warmth of language which makes the reader realize every part of the story, and cheats him, against his better knowledge, into the persuasion that the narrative is true. On the contrary, the writing of history is a task calculated to repress all vivacity of feeling ; research must take the place of invention, and fancy must act in humble subserviency to facts, dates and records. Under such circumstances, dulness creeps into the mind of the writer, and is thus imparted to the book.

“For these reasons, in most books, fiction wears the aspect of truth, and truth the aspect of fiction. Children are excellent judges of manner, and are very much affected by it. They will listen with much more interest to an indifferent story, happily told, than to a good one stupidly related. They, as well as people of mature age, are more attracted by a novel, or romance, written in a lively and natural style, than by the most important history, if composed in a dull and heavy manner.

“A second consideration, which will account for the preference given to tales of fiction, is this :—They are generally much more

minute in their details than books of history. The latter tell us of armies and nations, while the former present to us individuals, and acquaint us with their thoughts and feelings, their hopes and fears, their joys and sorrows, and thus make us sympathize with them in all the vicissitudes to which they are exposed. It is this minuteness of detail which forms one of the principal charms in books of fiction; it is the comprehensiveness of books of history, which makes them repulsive to juvenile readers, who are always seeking for amusement.

"Such being the views of the writer of the present volume, he has adopted a method in some respects new. If he has occasion to state that a battle occurred, he states it in few words, and then relates anecdotes, individual adventures, and other minute circumstances, calculated to fix the attention of the pupil, to excite his interest, and thus make him realize the whole scene, as if he were himself an actor in it.

"By this means, and by adopting a familiar style, the author hopes he has succeeded in imparting to this little work some of the attractive qualities which belong to tales of fiction. Nothing, certainly, is more desirable, than that truth should be the basis of early education; and whoever shall succeed in rendering history interesting and agreeable to youth, will perform a task for which he will deserve the thanks of the age. That the author has fully succeeded in this attempt, he cannot pretend to hope; but, deeply convinced of the importance of the object he has in view, he has made the present experiment, and leaves the result to the decision of the public.

"If this volume is favorably received, it will be followed by a series of works on American history, executed in a similar manner. The subjects proposed are the following:—the Early History of New England; the Early History of the Middle States; the Early History of the Southern States; the History of the Western States; the History of the West Indies; the History of Mexico; the Early History of South America; and the History of Discoveries in America. These volumes, if published, will be abundantly illustrated by engravings, and will appear at intervals of two or three months.

"The materials for these works are abundant, and in the highest degree interesting. The design of the author will be to embrace the entire history of the Western Continent in the series, and thus furnish a set of books, which may be put into the hands of youth, as works of amusement, but which will instruct them fully in the history of their own country, and in that also of other countries in the same hemisphere."

The four first works above mentioned, as well as the History of the American Revolution, are already published, and the others will soon appear.

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HISTORY

OF THE

MIDDLE STATES.

CHAPTER I.

Plan of the following Volume.—The MIDDLE STATES. First Patent of New Jersey. First Settlement of it. History of its early Government. Account of several Expeditions of Settlers. Anecdote of King Charles I. Interviews and Treaties of the Settlers with the New Jersey Indians. Speech of a Sachem about the Small-pox.

HAVING heretofore given my young readers some account of the early settlement of New England, and also of the Southern States, together with some other particulars in the early annals of those sections of the country in which we live, I now propose to furnish them with the means of becoming equally well acquainted with the history of what are called the MIDDLE STATES.

Under this title are commonly included New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland. Some of these are now among the most important states of the Union. The two first,

indeed, stand at the head of them all, in respect to population, wealth and resources. No young American ought to be ignorant of the early history of so important a part of the American nation.

What is now NEW JERSEY, was originally included with NEW YORK, in a patent or charter, granted by the reigning king of England, about the middle of the seventeenth century, to the English Duke of York. On the 22d of June, 1664, the duke granted the former territory (New Jersey) to two English gentlemen of high rank, Lord Berkeley and Sir George Carteret. It was called New Jersey in honor of the latter, some of whose family came from the island of Jersey, near England. Philip Carteret, of the same family, was appointed the first governor of the province, in 1665. Under his administration, the eastern part of it was rapidly settled. In 1675, Lord Berkeley sold his share of the province to John Fenwicke; and this gentleman visited his new purchase the same season. He brought over with him a ship-load of passengers, from London, and landed at a small settlement which he found already commenced by stragglers from various directions, on an inconsiderable river or creek, which runs into the Delaware river. He called both the place and the river Salem,—a name which they retain to this day. This was the first English ship which came to West Jersey; and it was nearly two years before it was followed by any more. This long interval was occasioned by some misunderstanding between the

proprietors, which was, however, at last composed by the good offices of William Penn. This latter personage (whom we shall speak of at some length hereafter) was soon after induced to become interested with Carteret and Fenwicke in the management of the new province. In 1676, it was divided into East and West New Jersey; and it continued to be governed by two governors until 1702. The two governments were then surrendered to Queen Anne, reigning monarch of England. Ever since that time, they have formed but one. This was, for a long time, directly under the care of the crown, like the colonies of New England, instead of being absolutely governed by the proprietors, as was the case with several of the American colonies. The first settlers, especially of West Jersey, were chiefly Quakers, a sect which I shall tell you more about by and by. They were a singularly steady and frugal people. William Penn, and the other proprietors, were men of such a character, indeed, that settlers of bad habits would have found but very ill favor with them. They would not even use those means which were in those days commonly resorted to, and in similar cases, to induce settlers to emigrate from England. Instead of this, they sent a letter of caution to the Quakers in England, warning them to weigh the matter well before they thought of emigrating to this country. The last paragraph of this letter is so characteristic of the writer, William Penn, that I shall annex it at length :—

“ This am I, William Penn, moved of the Lord to write unto you, lest any bring a temptation on themselves or others, and, in offending the Lord, slay their own peace. Blessed are they that can see and behold him, their Leader, their Orderer, their Conductor and Preserver, in staying and going; whose is the earth and the fulness thereof, and the cattle upon a thousand hills.

“ We cannot but repeat our request unto you, that in whomsoever a desire is to be concerned in this intended plantation, such should weigh the thing before the Lord, and not headily or rashly conclude on any such resolve. Let them solely endeavor to obtain the good will and consent of their kindred and friends. This we have thought good to write, for the preventing all misunderstandings, and to declare the real truth of the matter; and so we recommend you all to the Lord, who is the watchman of his Israel. I am your real friend and brother,

“ WILLIAM PENN.”

Settlements, commenced in this prudent manner, could not but prosper. On the 16th day of August, 1677, the ship Kent, Gregory Marlow, master, arrived at New Castle from London, with a new supply of Quaker colonists. There were two hundred and thirty of them, and many of the number had owned good estates in England. They landed near Raccoon creek, on the Delaware river, where a small colony of Swedes had already a few buildings

erected, but quite insufficient to accommodate the new comers.

This was the second arrival of an English ship in West Jersey. It is said of the '*Kent*,' that when she lay in the river Thames, in England, with the passengers on board, ready to sail, King Charles II. came along-side of her in his pleasure-barge. The monarch was taking his favorite amusement in rambling about on the water of a sunny day, with a few of his favorite courtiers. He observed a crowd of people on board the *Kent*, and his curiosity was excited a little. Having ascertained that they were Quakers, bound for America, he gave them his blessing, paid the sect a compliment for their well-known good qualities, and rowed off, leaving them much pleased with his complaisance.

Soon after their arrival in this country, a treaty was made for land with the Indians. This was at a place in the Delaware, then called Chygoe's island, from the name of an Indian sachem who lived there. It is now Burlington. The land was in this instance procured for little more than a 'song,' as indeed it generally was, of the natives. A blanket was much more to them than a thousand acres.

A wide tract of good land on the river, extending from Oldman's creek to Timber creek, was bartered to the English for thirty coats, twenty guns, thirty small kettles and one great one, thirty pairs of hose, thirty petticoats, thirty hoes, thirty bars of

lead, fifteen kegs of powder, seventy knives, thirty Indian axes, seventy combs, sixty pairs of tobacco-tongs, sixty pairs of scissors, sixty looking-glasses, one hundred and twenty awl-blades, as many fish-hooks, two handfuls of red paint, one hundred and twenty needles, sixty tobacco-boxes, two hundred small bells, one hundred jews-harps, and sixty anchors of rum. I give you the details, that you may judge of the taste of the Indians.

Burlington was laid out in October. A straight line was drawn from the Delaware river, at right angles, for the main street. A space was marked out for a market-place, about midway in this line. Ten London settlers agreed to build on one side of it, and ten Yorkshire men on the other. Another street was marked out along the river-side, in small lots, by itself. The town lots were generally ten or eleven acres. This was considered enough for a house, orchard, garden and yard. Several more settlers came in, within a month, from Wickaco, a small Swedish plantation on the Delaware. The season was then so far spent, that the latter had only time to erect a kind of wigwam for their accommodation during the winter.

The New Jersey Indians were remarkably kind to the new settlers, notwithstanding the attempts of the Swedes, or some other persons, to prejudice them. They were afflicted with the small-pox, it seems; and a story was maliciously circulated among them, that the English had brought the

disease over with them, and sold it to the Indians in the coats and petticoats. The English had a conference with them at Burlington, in consequence of this slander ; and the Indians were, without much difficulty, convinced of its falsehood.

“ In my grandfather’s time,” said one of the sachems, on this occasion, “ the small-pox came. In my father’s time, the small-pox came. And now, in my time, the small-pox is come.” Then, stretching his hands towards the skies, he added—“ It came from *thence*.” To this sentiment all the Indians at the conference expressed their assent. Their idea seemed to be, that this terrible disease was a judgment of the Great Spirit, as they called the Deity, upon them ; and that therefore the English were not to be blamed for it.

Another speaker expressed himself as follows :—
“ Our young men may speak such words as we do not like ; and we cannot help it. And some of your young men may speak such words as you do not like ; and you cannot help that. But we intend to live like brothers with you. We do not desire war : for in war-time we get to be only skin and bones ; and the meat we then eat does us no good. We hide ourselves in holes and corners. The sun does us no good. We would have a broad path for us and you to walk in. If an Indian lies asleep in this path, the Englishman shall pass by him, and do him no harm. If an Englishman be asleep in this path, the Indian shall pass by him, and say, ‘ He is an Eng-

lishman. He is asleep. Let him alone; he loves sleep.' It shall be a plain path. There must not be a stump in it to hurt our feet."

CHAPTER H.

Another Conference of the New Jersey Settlers with the Indians. Speech of a Sachem about Whiskey. Extracts from the Settlers' Letters to their Friends in England. Account of the Fruits, Fowl, Fish and other Productions of the Country. Anecdotes of the Indians. Another large Expedition comes over from England. Growth of New Jersey. Condition of the Province in 1765. Stories about Fishing.

EVER after the conference we have just mentioned, the natives were very kind to the settlers. They frequently sold them venison, Indian corn, peas and beans, fish and fowl. A second conference was soon held with them, for the purpose of putting a stop to the sale of rum, brandy, and other strong liquors to them,—which they themselves knew and acknowledged to be injurious. Eight sachems, and many other Indians, were present. They had prepared four belts of wampum, as presents to confirm whatever should be agreed upon. The wampum was like that of the New England savages, black and white beads, made of fish-shells, and used as a current money among them.

One of the sachems made the following speech. "The strong liquor," said he, "was first sold us by the Dutch; and they are *blind*. They had no eyes (meaning no prudence). They did not see that it hurt us. The next who came among us were the Swedes, who continued the sale of the strong liquors to us. They also were blind. They had no eyes. They did not see it to be hurtful for us to drink it. But we know it to be hurtful, although, if people will sell it to us, we are so in love with it, that we cannot forbear."

"When we drink it," he continued, "it makes us mad. We do not know what to do. We then abuse one another, and throw each other into the fire. Seven scores of our people have been killed by reason of their drinking it, since the time it was sold us. But the people who have come among us now, have eyes. The cask must be sealed up. It shall be made fast. It shall not leak by day or by night, in light nor in the darkness. And we give you these four belts of wampum to be witnesses of this agreement."

In November, another ship arrived from London, with sixty or seventy passengers. After this came the '*Flyboat*,' Captain Martha, of Burlington, in Yorkshire (England). This vessel had sailed from Hull, in the latter end of summer, with one hundred and fourteen passengers.

The settlers seemed now to be universally satisfied with their situation. One of them wrote to his

friend in England, in the following terms:—"It is a country that produceth all things for the support and subsistence of man, in the most plentiful manner.

"I have travelled through most of the places that are settled, and some that are not. I find the country every where apt to answer the expectation of the diligent. I have seen orchards laden with fruit to admiration,—their very limbs torn to pieces with the weight,—and most delicious to the taste, and lovely to behold. I have seen an apple-tree, raised from a pippin kernel, yield a barrel of excellent cider.

"Peaches are in such plenty, that some people take their carts a peach-gathering: I could not but smile at the conceit of it. They are a very delicate fruit, and hang almost like our *onions*, that are tied on ropes.

"I have seen and known, this summer, forty bushels of bold (sound) wheat raised from a bushel sown. From the time called May, until Michaelmas, we have a great store of very good wild fruits, strawberries, cranberries, and whortleberries. These last are like our bilberries in England, but far sweeter, and are a wholesome fruit.

"The cranberries are much like cherries, for color and bigness. They may be kept the year round. An excellent sauce is made of them for venison, turkeys and other great fowl; and they are better to make tarts than either gooseberries or cherries. We have them brought to our houses in

great plenty by the Indians. My brother Robert raised as many cherries, this year, as would have loaded several carts. It is my judgment, by what I have observed, that fruit-trees, in this country, destroy themselves by the very weight of their fruits.

“ As for venison and fowls, we have great plenty. We have brought to our houses, by the Indians, seven or eight fat bucks in a day ; and sometimes we refuse as many more, having no occasion for them. Fish, too, in their season, are very plenteous. We have almost all sorts that are seen in England, beside several sorts that are not known there : such are rocks [perhaps he means what we call rock-cod]. Such also are cat-fish, shad, ‘ sheep’s-heads’ and sturgeons. Then we have plenty of fowls ; as ducks, geese, turkeys, pheasants, partridges, and many other sorts, that I cannot remember, and would be too tedious to mention.

“ Indeed the country, take it as a wilderness, is a brave country, though no place will please all. But perhaps some of you in England will say—‘ He writes of conveniences, and not of inconveniences :’ In answer to which I honestly declare, there is some barren land, and more woods than some like to have on their lands. Neither will the country produce corn without labor ; nor cattle be got without something to buy them ; nor bread with idleness. In that case, it would be a brave country, indeed ; and you would all give it a good word, I dare say.

For my part, I like it so well, that I have no thought of returning to you in England, unless it may be to trade with you. So good bye.

“ MAHON STACY.”

After this time, large numbers of fresh settlers, chiefly Quakers, continued coming to the province. In 1682, a ship of five hundred and fifty tons' burthen arrived in West Jersey, with three hundred and sixty passengers. They landed between Burlington and the place where Philadelphia now stands, on the Jersey shore of the Delaware. In 1765, that is, about one hundred years from the first settlement, New Jersey contained 100,000 inhabitants. The proportion of the Quakers among them may be conjectured from the number of meeting-houses at that time. The Quakers had thirty-two; the Presbyterians, precisely as many; the Baptists, thirteen; the Episcopalians, ten: there were also one of the German Moravians, and ten of the Low Dutch, German, Swedish Lutherans and Presbyterians.

The settlers about this time still continued to be pleased with the country; and they had good reason for it. If the following account is true, and there is no reason for doubting it, it would seem that they might all have lived by fishing alone. One of the settlers wrote to a friend in England, that he and his cousin, with a few other men, undertook to catch herrings in the Delaware. They came into the shallows in great shoals, he says. The fishing

party were ill provided, for they had neither rod nor line. But, after the Indian fashion, they made a round pinfold in the flats of the river, about two yards over, and a foot high. A gap was left at one end for the fish to go in at, and bushes laid over or near this gap, so contrived as to keep them in after they had entered.

When all this was done, the fishermen took two long, slim birches, tied their tops together, and went away from the pinfold, about a stone's throw, up the river. Here they found the herrings again in vast multitudes. They now plunged in their birches, and hauled them down the stream, driving the fish before them by the thousand. The pinfold was soon full of them. They then began to haul and drive them ashore in the same manner, as fast as four of them could work; two pulling and hauling, and the other two stopping to breathe and rest. Thus, in half an hour, they filled a three-bushel sack with as good herrings as were ever broiled.

We are told, about this same time, that beef and pork continued to be as cheap and plenty as ever. The green pastures began to be spotted with sheep, too; and of course the farmer's table was now and then spotted with fine mutton. The common grass of the country made beef very fat. "I have killed two cows this season," writes one of the settlers; "and I have good reason to know and believe that the beef is good. Besides, I have seen killed, in Bur-

lington, eight or nine fat oxen and cows on a market day, and all very fat."

In 1683, Mr. Gamen Lawrie, deputy-governor of East Jersey, wrote in the following terms to the proprietors in London: "There is not a poor man in all the province, nor one that wants." He adds, that there was abundance of provision. Pork and beef sold at two-pence a pound. Fish and fowl, and all manner of creeping things from sea and land, were at every man's door, as it were. The oysters would have served the whole continent. Wheat went for four shillings a bushel.

Indian wheat, as the settlers called it (meaning Indian corn, I suppose), sold for two shillings. It was considered exceedingly good food both for man and beast, and gave two or three hundred fold increase. Good cider could be drunk in any quantity, by man, woman or child, for a penny a quart; a drink, made chiefly of molasses and water, sold for two shillings a barrel; venison, at one shilling and six-pence the quarter; eggs, at three-pence per dozen; vines, walnuts, peaches and strawberries were still plenty in the woods. On the whole, these good people seem to have had a comfortable time of it.

The Quakers of New Jersey were always among the most religious as well as most industrious and sober of the population. Before even a house was built in Burlington, they constantly held their re-

ligious meetings under a sail-cloth tent. From this tent they moved next into John Woolston's house, which was the first erected in Burlington. The next was one Thomas Gardiner's. It was several years before the first meeting-house was erected.

CHAPTER III.

Pennsylvania named for William Penn. Account of his Family. His Father, Admiral Penn. Early Education of William. Goes to Oxford University. Hears Quaker Preaching. Becomes a Quaker. Is expelled from College. Meets with Trouble at Home, and in London. Is tried and imprisoned. Anecdotes showing his Character. Receives a Charter of Pennsylvania.

THE state of Pennsylvania was so named for William Penn, whom we have already mentioned, but whose history now becomes more important. He was a chief promoter of the first settlement, and may justly be called the father of the province.

William Penn was born in London, October 14th, 1644. He was the son of Sir William Penn. This gentleman was remarkably fond of maritime and military affairs from his childhood up. He was made captain at the age of twenty-one; rear-admiral of Ireland at twenty-three, and vice-admiral at twenty-five; rear-admiral of England at thirty-one; and general in the first Dutch war at thirty-two.

He was afterwards elected a member of parliament for the town of Weymouth; and in 1660 he was governor of the town and fort at Kingsail. Four years after, he was appointed great captain-commander, under the Duke of York, in which capacity he distinguished himself very honorably on the occasion of a famous naval victory over the Dutch. King Charles II. knighted him, after his own restoration to the throne. He became also a peculiar favorite of James, Duke of York, who, on his death-bed, warmly recommended the admiral to the kind remembrance of his son. Mr. Penn died in 1670, leaving, with his blessing, a large estate to his son William. He had been greatly offended with him for joining the Quakers, but became reconciled in the last years of his life.

The young man was endowed with good talents, and he made such proficiency at school, that, at fifteen years of age, he was entered a student at Christ's Church in the university of Oxford. Here, or a little before this time, he was more strongly affected by the preaching of a celebrated Quaker, Thomas Loe. He withdrew from the worship of the Church of England, with a few other students. They held private meetings in the college, where they prayed and preached among themselves. This conduct gave great offence to the college-government. They began with fining Penn, who was then but sixteen years old, for non-conformity; and

finding him still incorrigible in his own faith and practices, they expelled him from the college.

He then returned home. There he continued to prefer the religious society of his newly-adopted sect. His father considered this disposition a misfortune, if not a fault. The admiral knew but little, perhaps, of the particular doctrines of the Quakers, and cared less about them; but he thought that his son's manner of life would be a great obstacle in the way of his preferment at court.

He set himself, therefore, to persuade the young man of his errors, as he called them. Finding all his arguments ineffectual, he had recourse to the infliction of stripes. His son was still unconvinced and unrepentant; the old gentleman was become much incensed against him, and he turned him out of his house, soon afterwards, in a violent passion.

The young Quaker behaved very well, however, under this displeasure of his father, whom he respected highly, though he could not in all things obey him. He was at length received again to the family mansion. He was then sent into France, in company with several young Englishmen of quality, who were setting out on their travels over that country. There he resided long enough, it seems, to forget his Quaker instructions and impressions in a great degree. He returned with a perfect knowledge of the French language, as gallant and accomplished a young gentleman as any in the kingdom. His father was delighted with what he con-

sidered his reformation. But, at about the age of twenty, his religious impressions were revived by the preaching of the Quakers, and, perhaps, returned with new strength. He became more zealous in that faith than ever. In Ireland, where his father sent him, two years afterwards, to manage one of his estates, he met again with his old acquaintance, Mr. Loe. This gentleman was preaching to a congregation of Quakers at the city of Cork ; and young Penn now found himself accommodated with religious services to his heart's content.

At one of these religious meetings in Cork, in the year 1667, he, with several other young men, was apprehended and carried before a magistrate, the Quakers being much persecuted at that time. The magistrate observed that Penn was handsomely dressed. He, at this date, wore neither the hat nor the coat of his sect, and had nothing of the Quaker about him, but perhaps in his countenance. The magistrate offered to set him at liberty, on his giving bonds for his good behavior. This he refused to do, and, with eighteen of his associates, he was thrown into prison.

He had contracted an acquaintance with the Irish nobility, during his residence in the country, which now proved of service to him. He wrote to the Earl of Orrery. He informed that gentleman, in warm terms, of his punishment and his innocence, and the earl immediately procured his discharge.

But his imprisonment was far enough from con-

vincing him that his religion was wrong. He embraced it, and associated with his fellow *Quakers*, more ardently than ever. This term was at that time a word of reproach; and Penn, accordingly, became the butt of the ridicule and wit of his old acquaintances. A nobleman, who knew both him and his father, now wrote an account of his situation to the latter. He was sent for to return home, and obeyed the request.

The admiral found him more inveterate than ever in his Quaker principles. He had at this period, it seems, assumed the Quaker habit of keeping his head covered on all occasions. The admiral felt as if he could have borne any thing but this. He said as much to the young man; and promised to give him his own way in every thing else, if he would uncover his head only in the presence of the King, the Duke of York, and himself.

He wished him to think seriously of this proposal, without consulting about it with his Quaker friends. His son assured him he would weigh the matter, alone, as he wished. He retired to his own chamber, and there fasted and prayed till he had made up his mind for the worst. He then returned to his father, and assured him, firmly but respectfully, that his conscience would not suffer him to comply with his wishes in regard to the matter of taking off his hat.

The admiral was terribly enraged with him.

He turned him from his doors again, and compelled him for some time to depend for subsistence on the private relief of his mother, and the charity of his other relations. But the old gentleman being convinced, after a while, that his son's conduct was governed by principle, whether right or wrong, and not by mere passion, he suffered his return to the family. He did not countenance his practices openly ; but, whenever his son was imprisoned for attending meetings, as he often was, he procured his discharge privately, and said nothing about it.

The young man was all this time preparing himself for the ministry. In 1664, in his twenty-fourth year, he began to preach, and to write for the press. He soon entered into a warm dispute with one Vincent, of London, a Presbyterian, and attacked him in a pamphlet ; the consequence was his own imprisonment in the Tower of London, for his severe strictures on the doctrines of the Church of England. Here, even his relations were not permitted to visit him.

But his enemies gained very little by confining him, for he continued to write in the Tower, as before. His servant was at last sent to him, with information that the bishop of London was resolved he should either recant publicly, or die a prisoner. His reply illustrates his character better than any thing which could be said of him : “ All is well,” he observed ; “ thou mayst tell my father, who, I know, will ask thee my words, that my prison

shall be my grave, before I will budge one jot. I owe my conscience to no mortal man, and I have no need to fear. God will make amends for all."

He was liberated in the year 1669. In the fall of that season, he visited Ireland again, to manage his father's estate. Here he met with his old friends, the Quakers, once more, and preached to them at Dublin and Cork. Some of them were confined in prison; and he used his influence with the chancellor and lord-lieutenant of Ireland to procure their release.

In 1670, the Quakers were forbidden to meet, by law, under severe penalties. They were kept out of their meeting-house in Grace-Church street, in London, by main force. They then met in the street as near the church as possible, and Mr. Penn, who had returned to England, took occasion to preach to them. He was apprehended by the police, and committed to Newgate prison. At the next session of the court, called the Old Bailey, he was tried for getting up a 'seditious and riotous assembly,' as the Quaker meeting was termed. Mr. Penn defended himself, and with such eloquence and such a noble and fearless confidence in himself and his cause, that, in spite of the frowns of the judges, the jury acquitted him, and he was again set free.

In December of the same year, he was once more seized by a party of soldiers, while he was peaceably preaching at a meeting in London. He was brought before the lieutenant of the Tower,

to be tried or questioned. His answers, and his defence of himself and his sect, were so spirited as almost to alarm and confound the lieutenant. The latter charged him with being as bad as other people. "*I make this bold challenge to all men upon earth,*" answered Penn, "*to testify that they ever saw me drunk, or heard me swear, utter a curse, or use a profane word. Your words are your own shame, sir. I trample your slander, as dirt, under my feet.*"

The lieutenant only replied by sending him to Newgate again for six months. After this he travelled over Holland and Germany. He married in 1672; still continuing to preach and write. In 1676, he became concerned, as we have seen, in the New Jersey colony. After travelling again on the continent, he returned to England; and, in 1680, petitioned King Charles II. for a grant of land in America. It seems there was a large sum of money due to Admiral Penn, at his death, from the government.

Penn was in favor at court, too, as his father had been before him. His petition was received graciously; and the next year, on the 4th of March, a royal charter was granted him, which made him absolute proprietor of all that tract of land now called Pennsylvania, and containing twenty-six millions of acres.

CHAPTER IV.

Account of the first Settlement of Pennsylvania. Mr. Penn comes over and stays some Time in America. More Emigrants in 1682 and 1683. Account of the German Settlers. Of the Welsh. How they at first contrived to live in the Wilderness. How the Indians treated them, and how they treated the Indians. Story about John Chapman. About his Daughter. About a Wolf chasing a Deer. Letter of Mr. Penn to the Indians.

THREE ships sailed for Pennsylvania during the year 1681. The *John and' Sarah*, from London, was the first which arrived there. The *Amity*, from the same port, was blown off to the West Indies, and did not arrive until the next spring. The *Bristol Factor* anchored at the place where Chester now stands, on the 11th of December. There the passengers, seeing some houses, went on shore, at Robert Wade's Landing, near the lower side of Chester creek. The river freezing up the same night, they remained there over winter.

Mr. Penn himself came over the next year, in the ship *Welcome*. A hundred Quakers came with him, many of whom were taken sick with the small-pox on their passage. They had a voyage of six weeks, and the first land they approached was Egg Harbor in New Jersey. In passing up the Delaware, Mr. Penn was welcomed by all classes of

people, English, Dutch and Swedes, with demonstrations of great joy. He landed at Newcastle on the 24th of October.

Twenty-three vessels arrived, within the space of the first year, with English colonists. The banks of the Delaware, from Trenton falls down to Chester, were very rapidly peopled. In 1682, and the year after, over fifty sail more came over, with settlers from various parts of England, Ireland, Wales, Holland and Germany. Those who came from Germany, like a majority of the others, indeed, were Quakers. They had been converted to this faith by the preaching of one Ames, an Englishman, and were among the first Quakers in Germany. They settled seven miles from what is now Philadelphia, at a place still called Germantown.

The Welsh colonists had bought 40,000 acres of land of Mr. Penn, before leaving England. They now selected it on the west side of the Schuylkill, where they at once settled three townships, and afterwards three more. Most of them were men of excellent character, and, accordingly, no colonists in the whole province met with better success.

The settlers of Pennsylvania were hardly so fortunate as their countrymen in New Jersey, in all respects. They were several times alarmed by a scarcity of provisions, the natural consequence of peopling a perfect wilderness so rapidly. The whole province, with the exception of a tract two

miles from the Delaware, was a desert covered with woods, and producing nothing but wild fruits and wild animals.

The lodgings of some of the settlers were, at first, in the woods. The trunk of a hollow tree was frequently all the shelter they had, for weeks, against the inclemency of the weather. This sometimes happened late in the fall, and even in the winter season. The next coverings of many of them were either caves in the earth, or such huts erected upon it as could be most expeditiously procured, until better houses were built. This, indeed, might be soon done, for there was no want of timber.

But there were many favorable circumstances in their situation, after all. They had to labor some years to procure themselves a comfortable settlement. But then the soil, once cleared of its heavy growth of forest, proved to be fertile. The air was clear and healthy; the streams of water good and plentiful; wood for fire and building in abundance. There were no roads or paths in the woods more than two miles from the water side. As to the Indians, they seldom travelled so regularly as to be traced and followed by footsteps, excepting, perhaps, from one of their towns to another.

The Indians were friendly to the settlers of this province, as to those of New Jersey. For a long time, the house of one John Chapinan was farther back in the woods than any other English settlement. The Indians were then in the habit of fre-

quenting his house in large companies, and were very kind to him and his family, and to those who came after him. They brought in corn, too, and other provisions.

In one of the scarce times I have mentioned, Mr. Chapman's oldest daughter, Mary, supplied his family by an unexpected good fortune. She had some occasion to go into the woods, as the settlers' daughters often had, in those days. Being near Keshaming creek, which runs into the Delaware, she heard an unusual noise, like that of something in distress. Upon search, she found a large buck (or male deer). He was standing under the high bank of the creek, whither he had fled for safety from a wolf. The animal stood still. She took the halter from the horse she was riding, and raised it over the deer's horns with a stick. Thus she secured him, till assistance came. The wolf had followed the buck within a few rods; but he now retired peaceably, and the poor frightened animal was carried off in triumph.

This same Chapman had two twin sons, named Abraham and Joseph. When about nine or ten years old, they went out, one evening, to look for their father's cattle in the woods. They met an Indian, who told them by all means to turn back; it was growing dark, he said, and they would be lost. They went on a little farther, but soon concluded to take the Indian's advice. It was quite late in the evening when they reached home, and there they

found the Indian before them. He had felt so anxious about their safety, it seemed, that he could not forbear going to the cottage of Chapman, to inquire for them. He expressed a great deal of satisfaction in seeing them safe home.

Such, generally, was the interest which these simple natives took in the welfare of the settlers. Not long after the time just spoken of, Chapman and his wife attended a yearly meeting of the Quakers at Philadelphia (of the building of which place we shall soon speak). They left a young and rather large family at home ; and the Indians came every day, during their absence, to see that every thing went right with the young people, and to bring them provisions enough to support them comfortably till their parents returned.

You may wonder at this kindness of the Indians, especially when you remember, as I dare say you will, how differently they were disposed towards the settlers in some other provinces. I may as well tell you now, that we shall find it to be true of the other Middle States, generally, as well as of Pennsylvania, that the Indians were treated more prudently than in the southern or northern colonies. One reason might be, that several of those states were settled at a later period, when the Indian character was better understood, and the English had the benefit of some experience in treating and trading with them. In New York, which was settled first, the savages were, as we shall find, somewhat troublesome. The

Dutch, who settled that province, took no pains, if they had known how, to conciliate the good will of the Indians. But much credit is also due, both in Pennsylvania and Jersey, to the care and peaceable good conduct of the Quakers. Hence the Quakers were ever afterwards great favorites with the Indians. Still more particularly is credit due, in the history of the former province, to Mr. Penn, its proprietor. He treated the Indians, from the beginning, with entire good faith, and sincere and most honorable friendship. This will appear from his letter to them, which he sent from London, in 1681, by the first of his settlers. You will find it worth reading, for its simplicity and kindness, as well as for its quaintness of expression :—

“ My Friends :

“ THERE is a great God, that hath made the world, and all things therein ; to whom you and I, and all people, owe their being, and well-being ; and to whom you and I must one day give an account for all that we do in the world.

“ This great God hath written his law in our hearts, by which we are commanded and taught to love, and help, and do good to one another. Now, this good Being hath been pleased to make me concerned in your part of the world ; and the great king of the country where I live hath given me a province among you. But I desire to enjoy it with your love, and that we always live together as neigh-

bors and friends, as the great God has intended for all men.

“I would have you know, moreover, that I am aware you have not always been treated as you should have been by the people of these parts of the world; and so you have been angry; and blood has been shed,—which kindled the anger of the Great Spirit also. But I am not such a man, as is well known in my own country. I love and regard you; and I desire to gain your love by a kind, just and peaceable life. The people I send to you shall be of the same mind. If in any thing they offend or injure any of you, you shall have speedy satisfaction.

“I shall come shortly to you myself, to confer with you on these matters. Meanwhile, I have sent my commissioners, to treat with you about land, and about a firm league of peace. Let me desire you to be kind to them, and to all my people. Receive these presents and tokens, which I have sent you as a testimony of my good-will to you, and my resolution to live justly, friendly and peaceably with you.

“I am your loving friend,

“WILLIAM PENN.”

CHAPTER V.

Great Treaty between William Penn and the Indians, in June, 1682. They call him their 'Elder Brother.' How the Treaty was made, and where, and how long it was kept. Another Treaty in 1715. Speech of the Indian Chief Sassoonan. Story about an Indian Queen and some Quaker Preachers.

A FEW months after this letter was written, Mr. Penn himself, in June, 1682, held his first personal conference with the Indians, not many miles from the place where Philadelphia now stands. As many of them as possible, with their sachems and kings, were invited and assembled together, from all parts of the province. A treaty of peace was concluded at this time, which was kept inviolate on both sides for seventy years. This treaty was confirmed by presents; the Indian orators expressed their gratitude, as usual; the conference was broken up after a day or two, and the savages went home, not only satisfied with the honesty, but gratified by the kindness, of Mr. Penn, whom they now began to call their '*Elder Brother.*'

This famous treaty was made in the open fields, under the shade of an old wide-spread elm. This venerable tree was still standing at the beginning of the revolutionary war. Even the British troops revered and spared it, when they cut up every thing around it. It was at last blown down, I believe, by

a violent gale ; but the wood of it is preserved, to the present time, in the shape of boxes, bowls, cups, and other articles of the kind.

In 1701, after Mr. Penn had been to England and returned again to America, he made a new treaty with the Susquehannah or Conestogoe Indians. These savages, like the rest of their countrymen, had a high respect and a strong affection for Penn. They came to Philadelphia this same season, in great numbers, for the purpose of bidding him farewell, and receiving his last advice previous to his final departure from the province for England.

He addressed them at that time in a long speech. He advised them, above all things, to abandon the use of strong liquors ; which they promised to do. He desired them in his absence to cultivate friendship with his people. He had charged the latter, he said, to be kind to the Indians, as he had always been himself. This, he added, was, or might be, his last interview with them ; and he hoped they would show their sense of his friendship for them by remembering his good advice. He then made them generous and useful presents. They retired satisfied, as usual, but really affected ; some of them to tears, it is said, by the idea of parting with their protector and ‘ *Elder Brother*.’ Since I am telling about the Indians, I will finish altogether what I have to say of them.

Four years after the departure of Mr. Penn, one Thomas Chelkley, a Quaker preacher, with a few

other members of that sect, visited the Conestogoe and Shawanese Indians, on the Susquehannah. Their object was, to teach them the truths of the Christian religion. The Indians received them with great kindness. A woman of some authority among them, a kind of queen, seemed to be particularly affected by the visit. This woman spoke so much in the councils of the tribe, that Chelkley took the liberty to inquire of some of the Indians the occasion of it. "*It is because,*" answered they, "*some women are wiser than some men.*"

She told Chelkley that she looked upon his coming to be more than natural; for "he did not come to buy, nor sell, nor to get gain." She then told him a dream which she had three days before. "She was in London," she said, "and London was the finest place she ever saw. There she went up and down six streets, and in the seventh she saw William Penn preaching to the people, who crowded about in a vast multitude. After he had done, she went to him. He was glad to see her, and promised by and by to go over to Pennsylvania, and preach to the poor Indians. Now," added she, "my dream is fulfilled. For his friends, if not himself, have come to us." I tell you this simple anecdote, to show you how long and how affectionately Penn was remembered by the Indians. It was very natural that the good woman should dream about what she thought of most when awake.

A treaty was made between Governor Gookin and

the Delaware Indians, in 1715, at Philadelphia. They assembled at the court-house, with the sachem Sassoonan at their head. The council was opened by the Indian's taking out the calumet, or pipe of peace, with a good deal of ceremony, and a noise of songs and rattles. Sassoonan handed it to the governor. From him it passed round among all the English in the house, each one puffing a few whiffs of tobacco-smoke. It was then returned to Sassoonan, who handed it to the Indians one after another. When every one of them had smoked, it was put away with the same ceremonies and songs as before.

Sassoonan was the Indian speaker. He said, among other things, "They had come to renew the old bond of friendship. William Penn," he added, "had made a clear and open road for them to walk in. He desired that this road might be kept open. The Indians should make themselves half English, and the English half Indians." This shows you again how the Indians remembered Mr. Penn.

He then discoursed of matters of trade. "Hitherto this had been like a house with two doors; one for them, and another for the English. But the goods were placed in the dark." They were ignorant, he meant to say, how they were dealt with, or how they ought to trade.

He then desired that the whites and the red men might be as people eating all of the same dish. Formerly his tribe knew the prices of their own

and of the English goods. But now, they varied so much, he said, that there was no understanding them. "On this account," he added very solemnly, "I am obliged to wear such ragged breeches, that I am ashamed to be seen. I pray that this inconvenience may be remedied." All these, and other suggestions, were confirmed in the Indian manner, by presents of wampum and skins; in return for which the governor gave his savage friend a variety of handsome articles. I shall give you a list of them all, with the prices in the old currency, that you may know how they were valued in those times, and how liberal the Indians were :—

45 raw fall deer-skins....wt. 138 lbs. at 9d.....	£5	3s.	6d.
8 summer " " 16 " at 13½d.....	0	13	0
53 dressed "	7	2	6
84 whole fox-skins.....at 18d.....	6	6	0
12 " raccoonsat 12d.....	0	12	0
Other furs.....	0	9	0
<hr/>			
£21 11s. 0d.			

And here you have a list of the English presents in return :—

16 coatsat 19s.....	£15	4s.	0d.
10 duffil garments10s. 6d.....	5	5	0
6 blankets13s. 4d.....	4	0	0
6 shirts..... 8s. 6d.....	2	11	0
50 lbs. powder.....	4	10	0
100 lbs. lead 2	10	0	
12 dozen pipes.....	0	4	6
<hr/>			
£32 4s. 6d.			

CHAPTER VI.

Account of the Founding of Philadelphia City in the Year 1682. How the Ground was laid out. Story of the first Discovery of this Spot. How the first Settlers in Philadelphia were accommodated with Lodgings. The first House built. The first Child born. Penny-Pot. The Blue-Anchor Tavern. Letter of Mr. Penn about the City, in 1683, to a Friend in England.

HAVING given you some history of the Pennsylvanian Indians from the time of Mr. Penn's first treaty with them, chiefly with the view of showing you how long they remembered him, I shall now go back to the time of the early settlements once more, for the purpose of telling you about the founding of Philadelphia, and the proceedings of the settlers in the neighborhood of that place. In the latter part of 1682, Mr. Penn, having finished his first business with the Indians, undertook to lay out a place for a city. In this he was assisted by his surveyor-general, Mr. Thomas Holme. The ground chosen for the purpose being claimed by some Swedish settlers, who said they had occupied it before the English came, Mr. Penn bought it of them, giving them in exchange a large quantity of land at a few miles distance. My young readers are familiar enough with the geography of their own country, I dare say, to know that Philadelphia stands on the west bank of the Delaware river, where that beautiful stream is something like a mile wide.

It is one hundred and twenty miles, or nearly that distance, from the sea, as the Delaware runs. The Schuylkill, a branch of the Delaware, runs nearly parallel to it at this place, at the distance of two miles westward. It pours into the Delaware four miles below the city. Here its navigation for large vessels is obstructed by a sand-bar; but in boats and small craft, iron, wheat, flour, coal, and other articles, are floated down to the city to a great amount, from the interior country.

The situation of the ground, when Mr. Penn commenced his survey for a city, exhibited a delightful prospect. There was a fine, high and dry bank next the water, spotted with large lofty pines. Many of the adventurers who came before Mr. Penn, had their caves and holes in this same bank for a residence. This was before houses were built, or any other accommodations prepared for them.

The first house erected on this plot of ground was built by a man named George Guest, and was still unfinished at the time of Mr. Penn's arrival. Several small houses were put up soon afterwards. Mr. Penn's own house, however, was built on his estate called Pennsburg, near the bank of the Delaware, a few miles below the falls of Trenton, and about twenty-six above the city. This was undertaken before his arrival, and intended for his reception. He afterwards held his conferences with the Indians at this house, and resided there occasionally, but not all the time.

I might have told you, that Mr. Guest's house was situated in what I believe is still called Budd's row. He kept a tavern there long afterwards, called the *Blue Anchor*, from his sign. I have told you that the first settlers lived in caves. One of the number was John Key, who was the first child born of English parents in Philadelphia. His birth took place in a cave near Sassafras street, known many years after by the odd name of 'Penny-Pot.'

In the latter part of his life, Key went generally, in the city, by the name of the 'First-Born.' Mr. Penn, as a compliment, gave him, when quite young, a lot of ground. He died at Kennet, in Chester county, in July, 1767, aged eighty-four. This village was thirty miles from the city; but the hardy old gentleman walked that distance with ease in one day, only six years before his death.

The ground of Philadelphia, according to the original plan, extended about two miles in length, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, and in breadth nearly a mile on each river. Nine streets were marked out in right lines, and parallel to each other, from stream to stream. These were intersected by twenty-three others, at right angles, running nearly parallel with the rivers, north and south. None of them were less than fifty nor more than one hundred feet broad.

Five squares were assigned in this original plan for the public use of the city. The largest, in the centre, was to contain ten acres; and was reserved

for a state-house, market-house, school-house, and the chief meeting-house of the Quakers. Four other squares were meant to be reserved in the four quarters of the city, containing eight acres each. Except in the direction of the streets, the plan of Mr. Penn has been very strictly adhered to in latter times.

The Indian name of the place where the city stands was *Coaquanock*. The first we hear of it in history, is in 1678. In December of that year, the ship *Shield*, from Hull in England, arrived in the Delaware river, with a colony of settlers for West Jersey. This vessel ascended as far as Coaquanock. She passed by the high and bold shore I have spoken of, so near to it, that, in turning about, part of her tackling caught in the pine boughs. One of the passengers cried out, "*Here is a fine situation, indeed, for a town.*" The crew went ashore, next morning, upon the ice; so hard and so suddenly had it frozen in the space of one night.

The building up of Philadelphia was always a very favorite project with Mr. Penn. It was the city of his own choice and charge. This is clear enough from his letters to his English friends. Here is an extract from one written in 1683, only one year after the founding of the city:—

"I say little of the town, because the plan of it will be shown you by my agent. But this I will say, for the good providence of God, that of all the many places I have seen in the world, I remember not

one better seated. It seems to have been appointed for a town, whether we regard the rivers, or the conveniency of the coves, docks and springs, or the loftiness and soundness of the land. And the air, too, is held by the people of these parts to be very good.

“It is advanced, within less than a year, to about eighty houses and cottages, such as they are. Merchants and handicrafts are following their vocations as fast as they can. The countrymen are close at their farms. Some of them got a little winter corn in the ground last season. The generality have had a handsome summer crop, and are preparing for their winter corn. They reaped their barley in May, this year, and the wheat in June; so that there is time, in these parts, for another crop of divers things, before the winter season.

“We are daily in hopes of shipping from England, to add to our number. Blessed be God, there is both room and accommodation for them. The stories told of our necessities are either the false fears of our friends, or the scare-crows of our enemies. For the greatest hardship we have suffered hath been salt meat. And this has been made quite passable by the aid of fowl in winter, and fish in summer, together with poultry, lamb, veal, mutton and plenty of venison, the best part of the year.”

Mr. Penn adds, in this letter, that he had already set up the first saw-mill and the first tannery in the city. He had marked out a place also for a dock,

a glass-house, and a fishing-stand. In a word, he omitted nothing which could add to the comfort of his settlers. One would suppose, from his description above quoted, that they never lacked good fare and enough of it.

CHAPTER VII.

Anecdotes of the early Pennsylvania Settlers in the back Woods. How they carried on their Farming. How they sometimes procured Food. Story about killing Pigeons. Letter of Richard Townsend to a Friend in England. The first Meeting-House erected. The first Corn-Mill. A Bull used for a Beast of Burden. Story about catching a Deer. Remarks on the Character of the early Settlers.

HOWEVER much Mr. Penn was delighted with his own situation, and the growth of his favorite city, and however much reason he had for being so, the case was by no means altogether the same with the settlers in the back country in the same province.

Some of these poor fellows were often sorely perplexed to find food for their large families. But for the kindness of the savages, they would have suffered still more. For a year or two after their first settlement in any remote and desert place, these good people, simple and ignorant as they were, always

supplied them, as they did John Chapman's family, of which I have told you, with corn, venison, wild fruits, and other things of the kind, until the settlers were able to clear up their farms so as to raise good crops by the labor of their own hands. I say hands, because it was some time, generally, before a settler could afford to buy or keep a horse or a plough. They used hoes almost altogether, instead of ploughs.

They were occasionally relieved in another manner, which seemed to them singularly providential. At certain seasons of the year (the berry and grain months, I presume), the wild pigeons came in such numbers among them, that the air was sometimes really darkened by their flight. These birds flew quite low, and they were actually knocked down as they flew, with sticks and stones, in great quantities, by those who had no better ammunition with which to destroy them. This supplied the poor settlers with fresh meat for some days; and the residue, which they could not immediately use, was salted down, like beef or pork, for some other time.

I shall close my sketches of the Pennsylvanian history with a brief description of the manner of an early settler's life, for the first few years after his arrival. It will give you a better idea of the subject, if I take my information from some of their own letters. I will therefore give you the account of Richard Townsend, an honest old Quaker. The letters were written about the year 1727. They

will be found none the less amusing, I think, for showing you the quaint style of the sect and the age.

“Whereas,” solemnly begins Mr. Townsend, “King Charles II., in 1681, was pleased to grant this province to William Penn and his heirs forever; and, this William Penn being one of the people called Quakers, and in good esteem among them and others, many were inclined to embark along with him for the settlement of this place :

“To that end, several ships being provided in 1682, I found a *concern* on my mind to embark with them, with my wife and child. So, about the latter end of the sixth month (June), having settled my affairs in London, where I dwelt, I went on board the ship *Welcome*, Robert Greenaway, commander, in company with my worthy friend William Penn, whose good conversation was very advantageous to all the company. His care was especially manifested in contributing to the necessities of many who were sick of the small-pox.

“After a prosperous voyage of about two months, having had in that time many good meetings on board, we arrived here. At our arrival, we found it a wilderness. The chief inhabitants were Indians and some Swedes, who received us in a friendly manner. Although there was a great number of us, the good providence of God was seen in a particular manner, in that provisions were found for us, by the Swedes and the Indians, at a very reasonable rate.

“Our first concern was to keep up our religious worship; and in order thereunto, we had several meetings in the houses of the inhabitants. One boarded meeting-house was set up, where the city was to be, near the Delaware. There, as we had nothing but love and good-will in our hearts, one to another, we had very comfortable meetings from time to time. After our meeting was over, we assisted each other in building little houses, for our first shelter.

“After some time, I set up a mill on Chester creek, which I had brought ready framed from London. It served for grinding of corn and sawing of boards, and was of great use to us. Besides, I, with Joshua Tittery, made a net, and caught great quantities of fish. These supplied ourselves and others; so that, notwithstanding it was thought that near three thousand persons came over the first year, we were providentially provided for. We could buy a deer for about two shillings, a large turkey for about one shilling, and corn for about two shillings and six-pence a bushel. The Indians brought in plenty of venison.

“About a year after our arrival, there came in about twenty families, from High and Low Germany, of religious, good people. They settled at a place which they called Germantown. The country continually increasing, people began to spread themselves farther back. A place called North Wales also was settled by a colony of Welshmen, an

honest sort of people, though not professors of the truth as held by us Quakers. Yet, in a little time, a large *convincement* took place among them, in consequence of good preaching, and divers meeting-houses were built."

"About the time when Germantown was laid out, I settled upon my tract of land which I had purchased of the proprietor in England. I set up a house and a corn-mill upon it, which was very useful to the country for several miles round. There not being plenty of horses, people generally brought their corn to mill, many miles, on their backs. I remember one man had a bull so gentle, that he used to carry his corn on him, instead of a horse.

"Being now settled about six miles from Philadelphia, where were most of my friends, and the chief place of provisions, fresh meat was very scarce."

Here Mr. Townsend makes some further remarks upon the means by which they obtained a subsistence, and then relates the following anecdote as an illustration of the kindness with which Providence watched over their welfare:—

"As I was in my meadow, mowing grass, during the haying season, a young deer came out of the bushes near by, and stood still and looked at me. I continued mowing, and the deer continued looking. After a while, I laid down my scythe, and went gently towards him. Upon this he ran off, but not far. I went to work again, and the deer began to look at me again; so that I left my work several times to

go towards him ; but he still kept himself at a distance. At last, as I was stepping slowly and softly towards him, he, looking me full in the face and retreating, did not mind his steps, but stumbled violently against the trunk of a tree. The shock stunned him so much that he fell. I now ran forward, and, getting upon him, held him by the legs. After a great struggle, in which I had almost tired him out, I threw him on my shoulders, holding him fast by the legs, and carried him about a quarter of a mile, home, though not without difficulty, from his fresh strugglings. A neighbor of mine, who happened to be there, helped me butcher the deer very handsomely, and he proved serviceable to my family."

It must be obvious enough to my young readers, I think, after all I have said of the first settlers of Pennsylvania, that they were hardy, persevering, industrious and honest men. They were, in fact, just the men most likely to succeed in their situations ; and it was to their excellent character and habits that the province, for a long time, owed the greater part of its prosperity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Some other Anecdotes of the Pennsylvanian Indians. How they were unjustly suspected of Hostility by the Whites, in 1688; and how the Whites were horribly frightened about Nothing. Story about the lame Indian King. War at last breaks out, in 1754. The Occasion of it. Some of the Tribes continue peaceable. Injustice done to these friendly Tribes. Horrible Massacre at Lancaster. End of the Pennsylvanian History.

I HAVE told you that the Pennsylvania Indians never violated their first treaty with Mr. Penn, for about seventy years. There were sometimes fears, however, that they would do so, especially as the French, in Canada, made great exertions to persuade them to desert the English interest. In 1688, the people of Philadelphia were alarmed with the report of a conspiracy of the savages, to cut off all the English on a certain day. The report was first brought by two women, of West Jersey, to an old Dutch settler at Chester. The appointed day, they said, was Wednesday of the week following.

On Wednesday, accordingly, about 10 o'clock in the night, a messenger came riding into Chester village in breathless haste. He had come across the woods. He told the people that three families, which he named, about nine miles distant, were all cut off by the Indians. Luckily, the Chester Quakers were not easily alarmed before they were hurt. They

knew that they had treated the Indians too well to have made enemies of them.

Three of them, however, started off on horseback, about midnight, to examine into the truth of the report. They found the three houses referred to, but no persons in them. Still, there were no signs of murder. The inhabitants had heard the same alarm, it seems, with the Chester people, and had fled for refuge about a mile, to a small settlement at Ridley's creek. One of them had even been told that five hundred Indians were actually collected at a place called Naaman's creek, ready to fall upon the English. This man had immediately fled for his house, to give the alarm. As he was hastening on, he imagined that he heard one of his own children crying out, "*What shall I do? My poor mother is killed! my mother is killed! What shall I do?*"

This frightened him more than ever. He now supposed that his house and family were gone for it. He dared not even proceed any farther, to learn the correctness of his fears. He turned about instantly, and fled across the woods for Philadelphia, with all possible speed, and imagining every stump and bush on his way to be an Indian. The people of that place were much alarmed by his story. A messenger was despatched to Naaman's creek, who soon returned and confirmed the report.

He said, however, that it was at Brandywine, and not Naaman's creek, where the Indians were assembled. He added, that they had carried away or

concealed their women and children, and also their king, who was lame and sick ; in a word, they were thoroughly prepared for the massacre. A Chester Quaker, named Caleb Pusey, now offered to go again to this very place without arms even, provided only that five other persons from Philadelphia would accompany him. He suspected that there might be some mistake in the business.

He set off, accordingly, with five attendants, and proceeded to the Indian village at Brandywine creek. Here, instead of finding five hundred savages in arms, they found the old king quietly lying on the ground before his wigwam, in the sunshine. His lame leg lay at length on a pile of straw, and his head on a kind of pillow. The Indian children were playing around him : the women were at work in their cornfields as usual.

The English approached the royal wigwam. The old king raised his head a little, and inquired, very politely, what they had come for. They told him the report which the Jersey women had first raised, and asked him whether the Indians had any complaint to make against the English. He appeared both provoked and amused at the report. He said that they had never the least misunderstanding with the English. “ ’Tis true,” added he, “ you owe us still about fifteen pounds, for the land Mr. Penn bought ; but we are in no particular haste for our pay.”

The English replied to him, that the Great Spirit

loved the English and the Indians alike, and so they ought to love each other. "Very true," said the king, "and as the Great Spirit has given *you* corn, as well as ourselves, I advise you to go home and gather it in peace. [It was now harvest time.] We intend you no harm." They parted amicably, and the messengers returned to Philadelphia, to quiet the vain fears of the settlers. This story illustrates the suspicion which they still could not help harboring, however unjustly, against the inoffensive and friendly natives.

It was not until the year 1754, that a really hostile spirit began to be seen among the Pennsylvanian tribes. They were provoked, probably, by some incursions or trespasses of the straggling whites on their lands or other property. They were spurred on, too, by the French in Canada. Hostilities commenced; and the frontier inhabitants, on the skirts of the province, suffered all the horrors of a violent Indian war.

But the savages were not all concerned in this misunderstanding. The Conestogoe Indians, among others, continued friendly. They did not get much credit, however, for their good conduct. Public suspicion was excited against the Indians generally; and this feeling became so violent in Lancaster county, as to give rise to the most atrocious massacres recorded in the annals of America.

An attack was made upon the Conestogoe settlement by fifty-seven Lancaster settlers, who had

armed themselves with muskets, hangers and hatchets, and were all mounted on horseback. It was about day-break when they surrounded the wigwam village of the poor, innocent, but suspected Indians.

The signal was given for assault, and the wigwams were all broken in at the same moment. Only three men, two women and one boy were found at home. The rest were among the neighboring white people, in Lancaster and other places; some to sell their baskets, brooms and bowls, and others for other occasions. The six just mentioned were immediately fired upon, stabbed, and hatcheted to death. All of them were scalped, and horribly mangled. Their huts were then set on fire, and the whole Indian village consumed.

The magistrates of Lancaster had by this time heard the alarm. Determined to defend the Conestogoes against their outrageous persecutors, they sent out to collect all the straggling Indians about that place, and secure them. But the murderers were not yet satisfied. Hearing that fourteen Indians were collected together in the Lancaster work-house, they marched for that town with their whole force. Fifty of them soon made their appearance before the gates of the work-house.

They then dismounted, and broke in the doors with the utmost violence. The poor Indians now perceived that their last hour had arrived. The Lancaster people would have protected them; but

they were surprised, and knew not what to do. The Indians had no weapons, and no other defence whatever. Their cruel enemies had now broken in the inner doors. They stood before them, breathless, and with fury in their countenances.

The Indian children began to cling to their parents' knees. The latter fell on their faces before the English. They professed their innocence, and protested, that, in their whole lives, they had done the English no injury. In this posture they were all murdered, man, woman and child! The barbarous ruffians who committed the deed retreated hastily from the work-house, mounted their horses, huzzaed at the door for their victory, and galloped out of town at full speed!

CHAPTER IX.

Commencement of the early History of New York. The River Hudson discovered. Some Account of Henry Hudson. The Dutch form Settlements in New York. Dispute between them and the English. War with the English. War with the Indians. Quarrels with the Connecticut Settlers. Governor Van Twiller. Kieft, the second Governor, comes pretty near having his Brains blown out. Anecdotes.

HAVING done with the early Pennsylvanian history, I shall give you, now, some sketches of the

history of the great state of New York. Populous and powerful as that state is at the present time, it was long among the most insignificant of the colonies; and, even at the end of a hundred years from its first settlement, it did not contain one hundred thousand inhabitants. You will recollect that it now contains more than two millions.

The principal river of New York, the Hudson, was first discovered and ascended, in 1609, two years after the settlement at Jamestown, by Henry Hudson, for whom it was named.

Hudson was an Englishman, employed, as some writers say, by the English king, James, but as the Dutch historians generally state, employed by the Dutch East India Company. Chiefly in consequence of this uncertainty, affecting the rights of the English and the Dutch, as first discoverers and owners of the same disputed country, there were frequent quarrels and wars between the Dutch in New York and the neighboring English colonies, for a number of years. The former were finally conquered in 1664, during a long war in which the mother countries, England and Holland, were engaged with each other.

The English writers say, further, that Hudson sold his right of discovery to the Dutch, which he had no right to do, being subject to King James. But the Dutch deny this. He was employed, they say, by themselves, as a servant of the company. This company desired, as almost all Europe did, at

that time, to find some nearer passage to the East Indies, than by the usual roundabout circuit of the Cape of Good Hope. They sent Hudson, therefore, to search for a north-west, American passage, not knowing, at that period, how far this continent extended, uninterruptedly, from north to south.

Hudson sailed early in 1609,—or, as others say, in 1608,—with a small vessel, well supplied, and twenty Englishmen and Dutchmen for a crew. He pursued a westward course from the Texel, in Holland, and fell in with the coast of Newfoundland, so named by himself. He then shaped his course for Cape Cod; looked into the Chesapeake, near where the Virginian colony had settled in 1607; anchored off the Delaware; and ascended the river, named, after himself, the Hudson, more than a hundred miles. When he returned to Holland, the Dutch gave him something for his map of discoveries, and sent several ships, the next year, to found a small settlement on Manhattan Island, upon which the great city of New York now stands.

In 1614, they granted a patent to a company of merchants, for trading with the savages on the Hudson. They called their American territory the New Netherlands, and laid claim to all that is now Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, besides New York. Being determined to make the best of this claim, too, they built a fort on the western side of the Hudson, near Albany, the

first commander of which was Hendrick or Henry Christiaens.

This good man had enjoyed his authority but a few months, before Captain Argall, who had been sent out by the English against the Dutch settlements on the Bay of Fundy, and had sailed up the Hudson on his return, by way of amusement, suddenly appeared before the fort, and called upon Christiaens to surrender. The captain was obliged to make a grace of necessity. He was unprepared for defence; and so, without the least ceremony, or show of fighting, he instantly submitted himself, and his garrison or colony, to the crown of England. In consequence of this good behavior, Argall suffered them to stay there, although it is said their fort was demolished. But the English were hardly gone, before they built another, on Manhattan Island, which they called Fort Amsterdam.

In 1623, they erected two more; one called Nassau, on the east side of Delaware Bay; and another, called Good Hope, on Connecticut River. The Dutch writers say, that the land was bought of the Indians on both sides of this last-named river, long before the English settled there. In 1621, the New Netherlands were granted to the Dutch West Indian Company.

Wouter Van Twiller was the first Dutch governor. He arrived at Fort Amsterdam, where New York now is, in June, 1629. His style and title, in the grant, were as follows:—"We, director and

council, residing in the New Netherlands, on the Island Manhattans, under the government of their High Mightinesses, the Lords States General of the United Netherlands, and the privileged West Indian Company." It is certainly to be hoped that the worthy governor did not oblige every one of his subjects to address him, on all occasions, by his long title.

William Kieft was the second governor. By the year 1638, the quarrelling with their English and other neighbors had become quite brisk; and it embarrassed Kieft not a little. He issued a proclamation, among other things, forbidding the Connecticut people to trade at Fort Good Hope, on the Connecticut river. Shortly after, the English not being so much terrified by this proclamation as the governor expected, he sent a Dutch force to Good Hope, to maintain what he considered his Dutch territories. The English had already settled on the Connecticut two years before. In 1640, notwithstanding the proclamation and the power of Governor Kieft, they seized upon the Dutch garrison, and drove them all away from the banks of the river.

In the course of the same year, the English also overspread the eastern part of Long Island, and settled even as far as Oyster Bay. In 1642, Kieft sent a force to break up these settlements, notwithstanding that the English had bought up the land of the Indians. Some of the English planters were

imprisoned, and others driven off. The governor treated the New Haven colonists with no more ceremony. He sent two armed sloops against them, without so much as a warning; burned the English trading-houses; seized upon their boat and their goods; and did other damage, to the amount of one thousand pounds sterling.

The Dutch agent at New Haven made an attempt on the life of Mr. Lamberton, a principal merchant of the English colony, during the same year. He accused that gentleman of a plot with the Indians, to cut off the Dutch; and tried to induce his servants to swear all this falsehood against him in court, by giving them strong drink, and by other bribes. Lamberton was tried and acquitted; but when he afterwards visited 'Manhattoes' to trade, Kieft treated him very harshly, and obliged him to pay an inordinate tax upon the beaver-skins which he had there purchased from the Indians.

The English further complained of the Dutch, that the latter harbored all fugitives from Connecticut; helped them, when confined for crimes, to file off their chains; persuaded servants to run away from their masters; and purchased goods which had been stolen from the English, and would not return them. Yet the Dutch governor wrote to Governor Winthrop at Boston, the very next year, complaining of the intolerable insolence and insults of the English. They were pulling each other by the ears, he said, in Connecticut, for a

little piece of land not worth speaking of; and he desired Governor Winthrop to see justice done to the Dutch. It is hard to find out, on the whole, upon which side the blame lay most, or which party made the most disturbance. It is clear, however, that they were all ready enough to quarrel; and in such cases, it is seldom difficult to find something to quarrel about.

The Indians were, at this period, beginning to acquire the use of fire-arms. These were sold them, in the way of trade, by the Canadian French, the Dutch, and perhaps the English also; and they soon showed a more hostile spirit, in consequence of these supplies. In 1643, they quarrelled openly with the Dutch. It seems that a drunken Indian, in his intoxication, killed a Dutchman. The Dutch demanded the murderer; but he was not to be found. They then instigated the Mohawk tribe of Indians, as it was said, to fall upon their Indian neighbors, which they did, and killed thirty of them.

One Marine, a Dutch sea-captain, soon after obtained a commission from Kieft, to kill as many of the savages as he could. So, collecting a company of armed men, he fell suddenly upon the Indians in the vicinity of Manhattoes, and made an indiscriminate slaughter of men, women and children, to the number of seventy or eighty. This outrage roused the Indians of all that section to a bloody and obstinate war. During the spring and summer, they burnt

the out-houses about the Dutch settlements, and, driving their cattle into their barns, burnt cattle, barns and hay all together.

They also killed several of the Dutch themselves, and pressed so hard upon their settlements, that they were obliged to take refuge in their fort, and send for help to their old enemies, the English of New Haven. The Long Island Indians united with the others against them. Kieft now invited Captain Underhill, from Stamford in Connecticut, to assist him, Underhill being pretty well known as a soldier. But, unluckily, Marine, the captain of Kieft's own troops, thought his dignity offended by this proceeding. He was mightily enraged, and even presented his pistol at the governor, threatening to blow his brains out forthwith.

This was fortunately prevented by some of the governor's attendants. Upon this, one of the captain's soldiers discharged his musket at the governor, and the ball but just missed him. The governor's guard shot the soldier dead on the spot. The Dutch of New York were generally so irritated by the Indian war, at last, that the governor scarcely dared to appear among them at all. He was obliged to keep a guard of fifty Englishmen about him for some time. And yet, but a few months before, the Dutch had been very eager, as we have seen, for the war. In the fall of this year, the Indians killed fifteen more Dutchmen, and drove in all the English and Dutch settlers west of Stamford in Connecticut.

They continued to kill their cattle, and burn

their houses and barns. They also did all possible mischief on Long Island. Those of the Dutch there, who escaped from their ravaged plantations, were confined to their fort for weeks, and obliged to kill and eat the last of their cattle. The English in Connecticut did not make common cause with the Dutch, but they sent them provisions on several occasions; and Captain Underhill, who joined them privately, according to the governor's invitation, had the chief command and management of the war. He collected more than one hundred English and Dutch soldiers under him, and by this force probably preserved the Dutch settlements from total destruction. He is supposed to have killed more than four hundred Indians on Long Island and upon the main land.

CHAPTER X.

Story about an English Criminal, harbored by the Dutch. Other Disturbances between them and the English. Great Battle between the Indians and Dutch. Peter Stuyvesant, the third Governor of New York. He meets with many Vexations in his Government. His Letter sent to Holland, in 1660. War with the English. The English conquer and take Possession of New York. Story about Captain Manning.

WHILE the Dutch were having all this trouble with the savages, some of their own settlers, who

still remained in Connecticut, were giving nearly as much trouble to their English neighbors in that province.

During the year 1646, the Dutch at Hartford induced an Indian servant girl to take shelter among them, who had left her English master for some crime. The latter now demanded her, as his property; and the magistrates demanded her also, as a criminal. But the Dutch would not restore her to either of the claimants. The Dutch agent even resisted the guard who came for her. He drew his rapier upon the soldiers, and broke it over their muskets, in the violence of his passion. He then escaped to the Dutch fort, which was still standing at Hartford, and there defended and sheltered himself with impunity.

Some of the Dutch also assaulted an Englishman who had recovered damages against one or more of them, in court, for some injury, and had attempted to collect them by process of law. They struck him, and took his team and loading from him. The English magistrates wrote letters to Governor Kieft at Manhattoes (commonly so called), complaining of all these things; but Kieft gave them little satisfaction. He was a passionate man, addicted to the use of hard words; and he wrote to the English nothing but unconscionably abusive letters in reply to their complaints. He denied that the Indian woman was a servant; and passed over the other matter without the least notice whatsoever.

He now threatened, moreover, to make war upon the English in Connecticut, who had settled on lands, as he said, to which they had no right. He then compared the magistrates, who wrote to him, to eagles, "which soar aloft, and always despise the little fly;" but the Dutch, he added, would soon bring them down. He finished his letters with this sentence: "We protest against all your commissioners met at the Red Mount. [Thus the Dutch called New Haven, from the reddish appearance of the rocks west and north of the town.] We protest against you as infringers of the rights of the Lords, the States, our superior [meaning the Netherlands], in that you have dared, without our express and special consent, to hold your court within the limits of New Netherlands."

The Connecticut magistrates, or commissioners, as they were called, answered the governor very coolly. They observed to him, that he had forgotten, in his rage, the most important part of their former complaints, and again requested him to put some check on the intolerable insolence of the Dutch in Connecticut.

The war still continued, meanwhile, between the Dutch and the Indians. A great battle was fought, about this time, at that part of Horseneck, in Connecticut, commonly called Strickland's Plains. It was long and bloody. The Dutch, with much difficulty, kept the field, and the Indians withdrew. Great numbers were slain on both sides, so that the

graves of the dead, for a century after, as the old historians relate, appeared like a cluster of small hills.

Peter Stuyvesant was the last Dutch governor of New York. He began his administration in 1647, and never did any governor find himself in more trouble. All nations seemed to him to have united against him, for the express purpose of keeping him uneasy. The Connecticut people addressed him a letter of compliments, in which they hinted the propriety of his giving them the satisfaction which Kieft had refused. But notwithstanding their compliments, the governor was but very little more civil than his predecessor had been, though rather less passionate. He even encouraged new insults upon the English, by his own people. At least the English thought so, and they now quarrelled more sharply than ever. These differences were finally settled by the governor's going to Hartford for that purpose, in September, 1650. On the same occasion, a boundary was agreed upon, which remains to this day the dividing line between New York and Connecticut.

But Stuyvesant had vexations enough on other sides, to counterbalance this agreeable settlement of his affairs with Connecticut. He quarrelled with the English colony in Maryland, about the Maryland boundary; the Indians molested him from the back country; and, not far from the same time, one Forrester, a Scotchman, set up a claim to

land upon Long Island. Moreover, as if to keep the good governor active, a Swedish colony was encroaching on his limits in Delaware.

By some mistake, one Deswyck, a Swedish captain, had arrived in Raritan river. The ship was seized, and Deswyck carried captive to New Amsterdam (New York). It seems that, a few years before, the Dutch had built Fort Casimir (where Newcastle now is), on the Delaware river. The Swedish colony then claimed that section of country, and protested against their building of the fort.

But the Dutch not noticing their threats, Risingh, the Swedish governor, determined to try another method of persuasion. So, with thirty men, he one day visited the fort under pretence of making them a civil call. He fired two salutes, and was then admitted and entertained. Within an hour or two, he availed himself of this occasion to overpower the garrison, seize on all their ammunition and stores, and compel them to swear allegiance to Christiana, queen of Sweden.

But the Dutch were not to be so easily outwitted. They sailed against Fort Casimir, in 1655, Stuyvesant heading his own force in person. He ascended the Delaware in September of that year, anchored opposite the garrison, landed his troops, and demanded the surrender of the fort, as Dutch property. Suen Scutz, the Swedish captain, desired time to advise with Governor Risingh. But Stuyvesant would suffer no such thing. "They must surrender with-

out the least hesitation, or ceremony," he said, "or the old fort should be blown about their ears, like a mere martin-house, by his cannon!"

Scutz was horribly terrified, and surrendered. The whole strength of the fort—four cannon, fourteen pounders, five swivels, and a parcel of small arms—was given up, with the fort itself. Stuyvesant now marched against Fort Christiana, commanded by Risingh. This surrendered on the 25th of the month, and thus the country was entirely subdued. About thirty Swedes were suffered to remain there, on swearing a long oath of "fidelity and obedience to the States General, the Lords Directors of the West India Company, their subalterns of the province of New Netherlands, and the Director General, then or thereafter to be established." Risingh was ordered off to France or England; and the other Swedes, who refused to swear the long oath, were sent home to Sweden, by way of Holland.

But the troubles of Stuyvesant were not yet ended, as appears from a long letter which he wrote to the West India Company in Holland, dated April 29th, 1660:—"Your honors imagine," he writes, "that the troubles in England will prevent any attempt on these parts. Alas! they are ten to one in number to us; and, without any assistance, can deprive us of this country whenever they please." This was a hard case, truly, for the governor, and it soon appeared that he was right in his idea of the English power.

In March, 1664, King Charles of England granted a patent of the state of New York to his brother, the Duke of York, for whom it was named. The patent included also what is now New Jersey. This the duke afterwards gave up to several other English noblemen. But the province of New York he was determined to keep to himself; and, with this view, an expedition was fitted out against the New Netherlands. It sailed from Boston, in New England, in August, commanded by Colonel Nichols. The colonel arrived before New Amsterdam on the 20th of the same month, and immediately called upon the Dutch governor to surrender all the forts and towns on the island of Manhattoes.

Stuyvesant was a soldier, as we have seen, and a man not easily frightened. But he had no knowledge of the expedition until late in July, and was, therefore, almost wholly unprepared for defence. To gain time, however, he drew up a tremendously long statement of the Dutch right to the country, which ended with assuring Nichols, that he would hold out to the last. "We offer unto you," added he, "a treaty, by our deputies, Mr. Cornelius Van Ruyner, secretary, Cornelius Steenwick, burgo-master, Mr. Samuel Megapolensis, *doctor of physic*, and Mr. James Cousseau, heretofore sheriff."

The conclusion, which follows, is a queer specimen of the style of those days:—"As touching the threats in your summons, we only say that we fear nothing but what God shall lay upon us, all being in his

gracious disposal ; and we may as well be preserved by him with small forces, as by a great army—which makes us wish you all happiness and prosperity, and recommend you to his protection. My lords, your thrice humble and affectionate servant and friend,

(Signed) P. STUYVESANT.

At the Fort at Amsterdam, the 2d of September, New Style, 1664."

But Nichols was too shrewd a man to be coaxed or terrified in this manner. He issued a proclamation inviting the Dutch to submit, and promising them easy terms. He then made violent preparations for an assault upon the fort. The governor now sent John de Decker, his counsellor of state, and three other men, with long names and titles, to agree upon a truce.

Nichols answered, that nothing but a surrender would answer his purpose ; and so, two days after, the whole Dutch government and country submitted to the English crown. The Dutch were suffered to remain there, however, as most of them did ; and their descendants, to this day, are well known to be among the most industrious and worthy inhabitants of the great state of New York. From this time the province was ruled, like most of the other provinces, by governors appointed by the English king.

It was at this period that New Amsterdam was first named New York. It consisted of several small streets, laid out in 1656, and contained a considerable population, chiefly of Dutch. In a few

weeks after the surrender of this place, the Dutch fort on the river Hudson, above, was reduced, and named "Albany," from one of the titles of the Duke of York.

A new war broke out two years after this, between England and Holland, during which a Dutch fleet anchored at Staten Island, near the mouth of the Hudson, and captured the English fort there without giving or receiving a shot. From that time till the close of the war, the Dutch were once more masters of the country. It was *then* returned to the possession of the English. John Manning, who had given up the fort, was tried for permitting the Dutch to land on the island without suffering his men to fire a gun, and for striking his flag even before the enemy were within sight of the garrison.

Manning pleaded guilty to these scandalous charges, but was only condemned to have his sword broken over his head in public, and himself rendered incapable of wearing one, or holding an office ever after. It is said he was suffered to go to England, to see the Duke of York and King Charles; and that the latter had a partiality for him, from the circumstance that, when that monarch was in exile, Manning had befriended him, and foretold his restoration to the English throne.

CHAPTER XI.

Some Account of the New York Indians. The Five Nations. The Policy observed towards them by the English of New York and the French of Canada. Anecdotes of their Wars with the French. Battle between the Senecas and French. The Five Nations invade Canada. Occasion of this Movement. Story of the Dinondadie Sachem, Adario.

HAVING given you some account of the Dutch and English who first settled and took possession of New York, I shall now tell you about the Indians of that state. The chief of these were the FIVE NATIONS, a very powerful and famous confederacy, consisting of the Senecas, the Cayugas, the Onondagas, the Mohawks and the Oneidas.

For a long time after they had taken possession of the province, it was the great object of the English governors of New York to keep these Indians friendly to themselves, and hostile to the French in Canada. In this they were generally successful. The French and these Indians were continually quarrelling, and often at war with each other.

In 1687, the French governor collected a strong force at Montreal, with the view of marching against the Senecas, who were particularly troublesome to the French. Monsieur Campanie was sent forward with two hundred Canadians, as an advanced party. He surprised two Indian villages, which had been

built about twenty miles from Lake Cadaracqui (as the Indians called Ontario), at the invitation of the French themselves. All but thirteen of the Indians who were taken here were tortured at the stake. The thirteen survivors were sent captive to France, to work in the French galleys.

All the Five Nations soon heard of this massacre, and they made terrible preparations for vengeance. The French army, meanwhile, left Fort Cadaracqui on the 23d of June, half marching down on the north, and half on the south side of the lake. Both detachments arrived at Tyrondequait the same day, and thence immediately marched for the chief village of the Senecas, which was twenty miles distant. The main body was composed of regular troops, the front and rear consisting of friendly Indians and traders. The scouts advanced, on the second day of the march, as far as the cornfields belonging to the village.

Here lay five hundred Senecas, upon their arms. The scouts came up within pistol-shot: but seeing no living being, and hearing no noise whatever, they returned to the army, and reported that the enemy had all fled; and that the French must quicken their march, to overtake even the old men and women. They pressed on, therefore, in great haste, until they reached the foot of a hill, about a mile from the village, where the Senecas lay ready for them. They rushed out from their ambuscade, with a tremen-

dous shout, and fell at the same instant on the front and the rear of the army.

The French battalions were embarrassed and thrown into great disorder. They fired upon each other as much as upon the enemy, and soon fled to the woods. The Senecas followed them until they were checked by the French Indians. The number of killed on either side is not certainly known; but the French chief commander, De Nonville, was so much dispirited by his loss, that he could not be persuaded to continue his march that day. The Senecas, therefore, had time to burn their village and retire. Two of their children only courageously remained to receive De Nonville, and to be tortured for the amusement of his Indian allies.

After destroying the corn in this and several other villages, the French army retired to the banks of the lake, and erected a fort on the south-east side of the straits of Niagara. Here they left one hundred men, under the command of one De la Troye, with eight months' provisions. They were soon after closely besieged by their Indian enemies, and all perished but seven or eight.

In August of the year 1687, Colonel Dongan, the New York governor, met the sachems of the Five Nations at Albany, and confirmed the English alliance with them by presents and speeches. In the spring of the next year, a party of Onondaga Indians (one of these five tribes) surprised a few French soldiers near Fort Frontenac. Instead of murdering them, how-

ever, they confined them to hard labor (as a return for the fate of those thirteen Indians whom the French had sent to labor in old France). Lamberville, a French priest, used his utmost skill to regain them ; but finding his efforts fruitless, he gave the Onondagas two wampum-belts, to secure their kindness to the prisoners, and prevent their joining the Senecas in open war.

A treaty was formally made, this season, between the French and the Five Nations ; but it was soon interrupted by a singular event. The Dinondadie Indians, who lived on the river St. Lawrence, had lately begun to trade with the English, and their friendship was, therefore, suspected by the French. Adario, their chief sachem, now undertook to regain the confidence of the latter nation, by performing some notable exploit against their old enemies, the Five Nations. He wished also to prevent a peace between these two parties ; for, in that case, the French would have leisure to punish the Dinondadies, and would stand no longer in awe of the Five Nations. He determined, therefore, to make a difficulty between the two parties.

He put himself at the head of one hundred Dinondadies, and lay in ambush for the ambassadors of the Five Nations, at the fall in Cadaracqui river, as they were returning from Canada home. He killed some, and took the rest prisoners. He told the latter, that the French governor had informed him that fifty warriors of the Five Nations were com-

ing that way, and advised him to fall upon them without mercy. The ambassadors were amazed at the perfidy of the governor, and frankly informed Adario of the truce they had just settled with him.

Adario now counterfeited the utmost rage and shame, at having been made the tool, as he said, of the French governor. He liberated the ambassadors at once. "Go, my brethren," said the crafty savage; "I untie your bonds, and send you home again. The French governor has made me commit so black an action, that I shall never be easy after it, till the Five Nations shall have taken their revenge."

The ambassadors went home with this story in their mouths, not doubting a word of what Adario had said. The Five Nations were terribly enraged against the French. By the 26th of July, they landed 1200 of their warriors, panting for revenge, on the south side of the island of Montreal. The French in the city were in perfect security. The savages came upon them like a whirlwind. Every building near the walls was burned; the neighboring plantations ravaged; and 1000 men, women and children put to the sword. Twenty-six more were carried into captivity, and burned alive. The Five Nations, during all this time, lost only three of their number.

Never did Canada sustain such a blow. The news of the massacre no sooner reached the garrison at Lake Ontario, than they set fire to two vessels they had built there, and abandoned the fort, leaving a slow match to twenty-eight barrels of gun-

powder, designed to blow up the works. This match happened to fail, however, and the Indians soon after seized upon the fort, powder and all. The French fled down the river so precipitately, that one of their batteaux and her whole crew were dashed into pieces by shooting over a fall. Canada was horribly harassed by the savages, on all sides, for a long time.

Canada was at this time in the most distressed condition; and it continued to be so for a long period. The whole country was ravaged, day and night, by the warriors of the Five Nations. The plantations of the settlers, in all quarters, were burnt and destroyed; trade was entirely at a stand; great numbers of the people were slain; and the remainder were in danger of perishing by famine, as well as by the tomahawks of their inveterate and ferocious enemies. Matters came to such a pitch, in fine, that, although no fault could be found with the administration of the Canadian governor, De Nonville, it was deemed necessary by the Court of France to remove him from his office.

It was supposed that this step, and the appointment of a new governor, who had the reputation and the popularity of a more fortunate man, might inspire the people of Canada with a gleam of hope that all was not yet lost. For this reason, De Nonville was recalled to France, and rewarded with an honorable employment in the king's household. The Count de Frontenac was appointed governor

of Canada in his place ; and this gentleman arrived at Quebec on the 2d of October, 1689. He had been in Canada many years before, and was perfectly acquainted with the country and the people.

They were acquainted with him, too ; and they knew him for a brave and indefatigable man. He was now in the sixty-eighth year of his age ; but his faculties seemed unimpaired by time, and his interest in the welfare of the province entirely unabated. Great expectations were excited among the Canadians by his arrival, and care was artfully taken to increase this impression by public rejoicings got up with as much noise and parade as possible. He was too active, however, to pay much attention to matters of this kind. He left Quebec in four days after his arrival there ; and the winter being now so far advanced that the ice of the St. Lawrence made it unnavigable for larger vessels, he ascended the river to Montreal in an Indian canoe. The Canadians were greatly delighted with this new proof of his energy.

CHAPTER XII.

How Governor Frontenac treats the Indian Prisoners. Sends some of them Home. Treaty between New York and the Five Nations in 1689. Treaty with the New England Colonies, made at Albany. Speech of Tahajadoris. Indian Mode of doing Business at a Council. Result of the Council. Five Nations refuse to fight the eastern Tribes. They encourage the New York People to fight the French.

ON the arrival of Frontenac at Montreal, he increased the admiration which the French people already felt for his vigor and zeal, by proposing to go and visit a fort on Lake Erie, which he had built when in Canada before, and which had been since abandoned. The clergy and people generally of Montreal came to him, with outstretched hands, to represent the danger of such an attempt at this season, and beseeching him not to expose a life so necessary for their own defence and safety.

The shrewd old Frenchman suffered them to exhaust all their arguments and tears; and at last, with seeming reluctance, he consented to abandon the enterprise. This, he observed, was merely to oblige them; though the fact was, probably, that he had no more idea of visiting or repairing the old fort than of visiting the king of China, and repairing the Chinese wall. This show of his offering to go, however, had a good effect, as he undoubtedly

expected it would. Several Montreal gentlemen voluntarily set out, with one hundred Indian traders, to examine the fort. They found it in better condition than they expected, although the Five Nations had made some breaches in the walls. These they now repaired, and then concluded to remain there as a garrison.

Count de Frontenac had brought over with him from France, Tawerahet, one of the thirteen Indian prisoners whom De Nonville, as I have told you, had taken at Cadaracqui and sent captive to France. As the Five Nations had an extraordinary opinion of Tawerahet as a warrior, and of course desired his redemption, the count hoped that he might be useful to the Canadians in procuring a peace between them and their Indian enemies. With this view, he took every measure in his power to conciliate Tawerahet, and his friends among the New York Indians, who, as he knew very well, would be sure to hear how he was treated.

He had shown him a great deal of kindness, therefore, during the voyage from France to Canada; and when they arrived at Quebec, he had given him lodgings under his own roof. In a word, he wheedled the Indian sachem so effectually, that the latter forgot all the ill usage he had formerly received. Four others of the thirteen captives, of less note, had also been brought over. These four were now sent to the Five Nations, in Tawerahet's name, to inform them of his return, and of the kind-

ness of the Count de Frontenac to him. They were also instructed to press the Indian tribes to visit "their old friend Frontenac," at Montreal, inasmuch as he had always retained an affection for them, and would be delighted to see them.

But before I tell you the answer which the Five Nations returned to this artful message of the count, I must go back with you a month or two in my history. War had been declared anew between France and England, some time before Frontenac's arrival; and four of the Five Nations had taken that occasion to renew their old treaty of peace with the people of New York. This was done upon the 27th of June, 1689. This renewal of the treaty was, in their language at the council, "sticking to the old chain by which they had all been bound together as brethren." "Virginia, Maryland and New England," added they, "have been since taken into this silver chain, with which our friendship is locked fast. We are now come to make the chain clearer and brighter than ever."

About the beginning of September of the same year, the New England colonies sent commissioners to Albany, to meet the deputies of the Five Nations. They wished to engage the assistance of these tribes against the eastern Indians, with whom the colonies were at this period engaged in war. These same eastern Indians had also sent *their* deputies to the Five Nations, just before the time we are speaking of, to engage assistance against the colonies; the latter

were, consequently, the more anxious to effect their purposes at the Albany meeting.

The council commenced on the 23d of September, with all the solemnities and parade usual on similar occasions. One of the New England agents opened it with a long speech, which he ended by desiring the Indians to consider well the answer they should give on the next day. On the 24th, accordingly, Tahajadoris, a Mohawk sachem, and a chief orator among them, made a long oration in reply.

He repeated every thing the New England agent had said the day preceding, and then desired the audience to be very attentive to his answer. This repeating what is said to them, before replying to it, was a common circumstance in these Indian councils. They repeated, too, with astonishing accuracy, taking the following method of assisting their memories: The chief sachem, who presides at the conference, held a bundle of small sticks in his hand. As soon as the speaker had finished any one article or paragraph in his speech, and stopped to get breath, or make presents according to custom, the chief sachem gave a stick to some other sachem at his side.

This was as much as to say, "Be particular to remember this last article. We all depend on *your* memory for *this*." When another article was finished, he gave another stick to another sachem, whose charge it thereby became to remember the

second article. So he proceeded with every paragraph in the speech. At the end of it, the council was commonly adjourned to the afternoon, or the next day. The Indians met together meanwhile, and determined on their answer to each article of the speaker, one by one. One of them was selected to act as orator ; and the sachems undertook, as before, to remember each article of *his* speech. If he forgot or misstated any thing, therefore, when he came to speak, a sachem was always ready at his side to prompt or correct him.

I will now resume my story, and give you a part of the speech of Tahajadoris at the Albany council.

“ Brothers,” he began, “ you are welcome to this house, which is appointed for our treaties with the Christians. We thank you for renewing the covenant chain. It is now no longer of iron, and subject to rust, as formerly, but of pure silver, and includes in it all the king’s subjects, from the Senecas eastward, as far as any of the great king’s subjects live (meaning King William, of England), and southward from New England to Virginia.” Here the speaker presented a beaver-skin to the New England agents, to confirm what he had said. This was another general Indian custom. He then proceeded thus :—

“ We are glad to hear of the good success which our great king has had over the French by sea, in taking and sinking so many of their ships. You tell us, in your speech, that we are one people. Let us,

then, go hand in hand together. Let us ruin and destroy the French, our common enemy." Here another beaver was given.

"The covenant chain between us is ancient (as you have told us), and of long standing. We have kept it with true hearts. When you had wars years ago with the Indians, you desired us to help you. We did it readily, and to the purpose. We pursued them closely, and so prevented the shedding of much of your own blood. This was a certain proof that we loved you from our hearts." Here the speaker gave a belt of wampum, the Indian money.

"You advise us to pursue our enemies, the French, with vigor. This, we assure you, we are determined to do, to the utmost of our speed and strength. But since they are your enemies likewise, we desire our brothers of the colonies to send us a hundred men, for the security of this place, which is ill-provided against an attack from the French. The Christians here have victuals enough for the entertainment of a hundred men." Here another belt was presented.

"We patiently suffered many injuries from the French, from year to year, before we took up the battle-axe against them. Our patience made the sachem (governor) of Canada think that we were afraid of him; that we dared not resent the injuries we had suffered. He is now undeceived. We are resolved never to drop the axe. The French never shall see our faces in peace. We shall never be reconciled while a Frenchman lives. We will make no

peace, though every one of our nation should be cut into slices by the French swords. Our brothers may depend upon this." And this, too, was confirmed by a beaver-skin.

"As to what you told us of the Owenagungas and Magees (New England Indians, at war with the colonies), we answer thus : We were never so proud and haughty as to begin a war without just provocation. You say they are treacherous rogues. This we cannot help. You say also that they will undoubtedly help the French. Let them do this, brothers ; let them but join your enemies, either French or Indians, and we will kill and destroy them like wild-cats in the woods." A fourth beaver was given to confirm all this.

The Mohawks afterwards offered five of their men to guard the agents home, against any of their Indian enemies, who might waylay them ; and a belt of wampum was given to confirm this offer.

Tahajadoris then continued as follows : "We have spoken what we had to say of the war. We come now to the affairs of peace. We promise to preserve the chain inviolably. We wish that the sun may always shine in peace over all our heads. We give two belts, one for the sun, and the other for his beams." And here two more belts were accordingly given.

"We make fast the roots of the Tree of Peace which is planted in this place. Its roots reach to the utmost of your colonies. If the French should come

to shake this tree, we should know it by the motion of its great roots, which reach also into our country. But we trust that the sachem of Canada will not be able to shake this tree, which has been so firmly and so long planted among us." Here two more belts were delivered.

Last of all, the speaker desired the magistrates of Albany, who were present as spectators, to remember what he had said, and then gave them a beaver. It seems that they answered, in this case, the purpose of witnesses to a deed or treaty; and the presents answered the purpose of pledges or seals.

The New England agents could not help observing, after all this, that these sly savages had said not a word about the messengers who had come to them from the New England Indians. They now desired the orator, therefore, to explain himself distinctly upon that point.

"*We cannot declare war,*" said he, in reply, "*against the eastern Indians; for they have done us no harm.* Nevertheless, our New England brothers may be sure of our friendship. When we took up the axe against the French, we did it to revenge the injuries they had done us, and not merely to please you. We did not so much as acquaint you with our intention until fourteen days after our army had begun its march towards Canada. But the Owenagungas and Magees have done us no harm. *Brothers, we cannot fight against them.*"

My young friends will perceive how very shrewd

these Indians were. One would think, too, that they had excellent ideas of justice and fair play. They knew it was not right to begin war unprovoked, and merely to please the English. But they were equally careful not to offend the latter by the style of their refusal. After the council had separated, therefore, some of the sachems sent a messenger to the New England agents at their lodgings in Albany, desiring to speak with them.

The agents met them soon after, as they wished. The Indian speaker now told them that he had something to say which was not proper to be spoken publicly in the council. Some of their tribe, he said, had an affection for the New England Indians; and there was some danger lest they might discover and hinder the designs of the rest in favor of the English. He now assured the agents that they should look upon the enemies of New England as their own enemies. They would send five of their young men home with the agents, to guard them, and to examine the country of the New England Indians. This they always did before making an expedition into an enemy's country. "In a word," added the speaker, "your war is our war. We will live and die with you." It is very remarkable that neither belt nor beaver was given to confirm what was last said about these New England Indians.

On the 25th of the month (September), the magistrates of Albany had a private conference

with the sachems of the Five Nations, and desired to know what measures the latter had resolved upon in regard to the war with the French. The sachems were cunning enough to perceive that the Albany people were terribly afraid of the French. They had seen so much massacre and bloodshed, that their spirits really sank under the dread of the approaching war. The sachems, therefore, undertook to encourage and cheer them.

“We have one hundred and forty men,” said they, “out, skulking about Canada. The French cannot attempt any thing without being seen and harassed by these parties. If they do attempt any thing, all the Five Nations will come to your assistance. Our brothers and ourselves are one. - We will live and die together. We have desired one hundred men of our brothers at Boston to assist us in this neighborhood.

“We have confidence in a good and just cause. The Great Spirit [the name the Indians gave to the Deity] knows how deceitfully the French have dealt with us. He hath sent us signs in the sky to confirm this. We have heard strange noises in the heavens. We have seen heads falling down upon earth. We are sure, therefore, of the ruin of the French. Take courage, brothers! take courage!”

Here the whole assembly of the Indians present joined in a sort of chorus, singing, and crying out, “Take courage, brothers! take courage!” What they said about signs was made up, perhaps, merely

to encourage the Albany people ; or it might be that they had seen something which they were superstitious enough to construe into *signs*. They would be very ready, in this season of excitement and expectation of war, to see and hear more than at other times. Perhaps it was the “northern lights,” or some meteor, or shooting stars, they had seen, a little more brilliant than usual.

CHAPTER XIII.

Some of the Five Nations send Messengers to Albany, to invite the English to attend an Indian Council with the French. Messengers are sent by the English. Council opens on the 22d of January, 1690. Speeches of SADEKANAGHTIE, and other Sachems. The French Messengers go back to Canada disappointed. The Council breaks up. Anecdotes. Indian Customs.

I HAVE NOW given you, I think, a pretty good idea of the mode of an Indian council, and also of an Indian treaty, confirmed between New York and the New England colonies on one hand, and the Five Nations on the other, in June and September, 1689. We will return, then, to Count de Frontenac, and the four Indian messengers whom he sent to the Five Nations.

On the 27th of December, of the year just named, two Indians came to Albany from the Onondaga and Oneida tribes—two of the Five Nations. They

brought several feet of wampum-strings from each tribe, by way of credentials, or letter of introduction ; and they now gave information, that four of their thirteen Indian countrymen, who had been taken prisoners to France, had just returned among them, with a message from the governor of Canada.

They added, that in consequence of this message, a council of the sachems was appointed to meet at Onondaga. They therefore desired Peter Schuyler, and some other of their English brethren, to come thither, and be present at the council, and advise them what to do. They would do nothing, they said, but with the knowledge and consent of all who were bound in the same chain (or treaty) with them. This Mr. Schuyler was mayor of Albany, and a major in the New York militia. He had long been a very great favorite with the Five Nations. Whatever "*Quider*" said, as they pronounced *Peter*, was a kind of law among them. They thought nobody equal to *Quider*.

The messengers said further, that the French had sent letters to the Jesuit clergyman who lived among the Indians at Oneida ; and that they would neither burn these letters, nor suffer the Jesuit, or any body else, to open them, till their English brothers should have first seen them.

The Albany people sent three friendly Indians only to the council, with instructions, in their name, to dissuade the Five Nations from making peace with the French. But, a week after, one of the

principal Mohawk chiefs called at Albany, on his way to the Onondaga council. He, too, desired their advice of the English; and they now sent their public Indian interpreter, and another person, to assist at the general meeting.

When the English messengers had arrived as far as Oneida, in the Indian country, they met one of the four messengers whom the French had sent to the Five Nations, and one who had been in France, among the thirteen Indian captives. They talked with him privately, and soon found out that he had no more love or respect for the French, at heart, than they had. He told them astonishing stories about the grandeur of the French court, and the splendor of the French troops, and many other things he had seen in that country; but he also complained bitterly of the ill-treatment he had suffered himself.

I think my young friends will be enough interested in the singular customs and ceremonies of the New York tribes, to wait patiently till I give them some account of the Onondaga council. It will teach them several new things, I hope; and, at all events, it will enable them much better to understand the sequel of the history.

The council opened on the 22d of January, 1690. It consisted of eighty sachems of the Five Nations. They assembled, and seated themselves, according to rank, in one large room, the English messengers having particular and honorable seats reserved for

them, and the French messengers other seats. The first who spoke was Sadekanaghtie, an Onondaga sachem. He rose, and addressed himself thus to the messengers from Albany :—

“Brothers ! here are four messengers from the grand sachem of Canada [Frontenac]. Three of them have been prisoners in France. The fourth comes from the *Praying Indians*, who live at Montreal [referring to a tribe who had been half-civilized and half-christianized, by the French Jesuits]. The governor notifies his arrival to us. He says he is the Count Frontenac who lived in Canada many years ago ; and that he has brought back with him Tawerahet, the Cayuga sachem, and others of the Indians who were carried to France.”

The speaker then took the belt of wampum in his hand, which the French messenger had brought from the governor, and holding it up by the middle, proceeded thus :—“What I have said, relates only to one half of the belt. The other half is to let us know, as the messenger says, that the governor intends to kindle his fire again at Cadaracqui [meaning, to hold a council] next spring ; and he invites his children to treat there with him about the old chain.”

Adarahta, the chief sachem and messenger of the Praying Indians, now rose, with three belts in his hand, and addressed himself, as, no doubt Count Frontenac had instructed him, to the sachems of the Five Nations : “I advise you to meet the governor

of Canada as he desires. Agree to this, brothers, if you would live." Here he gave them a wampumbelt. "Tawerahet sends you this other belt," added he, "to inform you of the miseries which he and the rest of your countrymen have suffered in their captivity. He advises you to hearken to Yonondio, if you desire to live."

Yonondio was the name, in their own language, which the Indians of Canada gave to Count Frontenac. As to Tawerahet, my young readers will recollect that he was one of the thirteen Indian captives in France, whom the count brought over with him from that country, and treated with great kindness after his return. "This third belt," proceeded the sachem, "is from Thurenserra, Ohguesse, and Ertel, who say by it, to their brethren of the Five Nations—'We have interceded for you with Yonondio, and, therefore, advise you to meet him at Cadaracqui in the spring.'"

These three names were those by which three French gentlemen of Montreal were well known among the Indians. They were in the habit of giving names, in this manner, especially to white people for whom they conceived an attachment, or in whose rank, adventures or character there was something remarkable. Thurenserra meant *day-break*, and was the name they gave to a Jesuit clergyman who had once lived at Onondaga among themselves. Ohguesse was the Indian word for *partridge*; and Ertel for *rose*.

When Adarahta had done speaking, the Indian messenger sent from Albany rose, and delivered his message, word for word. He had committed it perfectly to memory. Not a syllable was omitted. While he was speaking, the Albany interpreter who was sent with him, read over a paper, on which their instructions had been written, lest any thing might be forgotten.

After this, Canehoot, an Indian sachem, stood up. He gave the assembly a particular account of a treaty made, during the preceding summer, between the Senecas and the Wahungas, a tribe of Canadian Indians. To this treaty Canehoot wished the other four of the Five Nations now to agree. He went on to state the proposals of the Wahunga messengers, with great accuracy, as follow. The Seneca sachems had probably taken pains to remember them, in the usual way, by the help of their sticks, as I have told you was the custom.

1. "We are come to join two bodies in one." The Wahunga messengers had given up two Seneca captives, to confirm this article. It seemed to be as much as to say, "Our object is to unite the two tribes in the bonds of friendship; and we give you up these prisoners for nothing, to show you we are in earnest."

2. "We are come to learn wisdom of you Senecas, and of the other Five Nations, and of your English brethren of New York." A belt was given to confirm this article. It seems to be nothing

more than a sly compliment to the Indians and the English, meant to wheedle them all into good humor, no doubt. I think it quite likely, the Wahun-gas had been instructed by Count Frontenac, to say all these pretty things.

3. "By this belt [another belt was here given], we wipe away the tears from the eyes of those among us whose relations have been killed in the war. We wipe away, too, the paint from your warriors' faces." This was to soothe their grief for those Senecas who had been slain in the wars with the Canadian Indians. The last clause alludes to the Indian custom of painting their faces when they go to war, to make themselves look more terrible to the enemy. They bought up a great deal of vermilion, in particular, of the English, to be used for this purpose.

4. "We now throw aside the axe, which Yonondio put into our hands, by this third belt." This was very cunningly laying all the blame of the war upon Frontenac's shoulders, as if, but for him, they should never have thought of such a thing.

5. "Let the sun, so long as he shall endure, shine upon us in friendship." Here a red marble plate was given, as large round as a peck measure.

6. "Let the rain of heaven wash away all hatred, that we may again smoke in peace." Here a large pipe of red marble was given. Smoking together was the greatest mark of good-will which the Indians could show each other. It was always

done when treaties were made, as it also was when they entertained a traveller in their wigwams.

7. “Yonondio is drunk ; but we wash our hands clean from all his actions.” This polite article was confirmed by a fourth belt. The eighth article was in pretty much the same mood :—“ Now we are clean washed by the waters of heaven. Neither of us must defile ourselves by hearkening to Yonondio.”—It is very likely that Frontenac himself directed the Wahunga messengers to say these uncivil things of *him*. He knew they would please and perhaps deceive the Senecas.

The last articles were as follow : 9. “ We have twelve of your nation prisoners, who shall be brought home in the spring.”

10. “ We will bring you prisoners when the strawberries shall be in blossom. At that time we intend to visit *Corlear*, and see the place where the wampum is made.”

The Indians distinguish the seasons generally, as in this case. They will speak of the time when the corn is ripe, or the time of planting it, or when the beech-trees are in blossom, or the oak-leaves no bigger than a mouse’s ear. *Corlear* meant the governor of New York ; and that city was the place where, as the Indians thought, much of “ the wampum,” or *money*, of the English was made.

After the Seneca sachem had repeated all these articles to the assembly, the Wahunga belts, marble, and other presents, were hung up in the house, in

full view of all present. They were then taken down again, and distributed among the various tribes. Their acceptance was a ratification of the treaty with the Wahungas. A large belt was given, also, to the Albany messengers, as their share. The belt of wampum sent from the Albany people was hung up, and then divided in the same manner. The New England colonies, whom the Five Nations called *Kinshon* (a fish), had likewise sent the wooden model of a *fish* to this council. This was a token of their adhering to the general covenant. The wooden fish was now handed round among the sachems, and then put aside, to be put up.

After these ceremonies were over, Sadekanaghtie, the Onondaga sachem, arose and said, "Brothers, we must stick to our brother Quider [Schuyler]. We must look upon Yonondio [Frontenac] as our enemy. He is a cheat." The interpreter was now desired to speak what he had to say from the people of Albany.

He told them, that a new English governor was lately arrived, who had brought over a great many soldiers from England; that France and England were at war again; and that the New England people were fitting out ships against Canada. He desired them, finally, to make no treaty with the French, or, at least, none but at Albany. The French, he said, would not keep a treaty, unless it was made at Albany.

After this, the sachems of the Five Nations had

a long consultation together. The conclusion they came to is expressed in the speech of their orator, the next day, in the council. He began with addressing the Canadian messengers: "Brothers! our fire burns at Albany. We will not go to Cadaracqui. We will stick to our old silver chain with Corlear. We will raise the axe against Yonondio. We are glad to hear good news of our countrymen, the prisoners in Canada—but *tell us no lies.*"

"Brother Kinshon!" added the speaker, addressing the messenger who brought the fish from New England, "we hear that you intend to send soldiers to the eastward, against the Indians there. But we advise you to join with us, and fall at once upon the French. They are at the bottom of *all* this mischief. Strike at the root. If the trunk is cut down, the branches will fall of course. Corlear and Kinshon, courage! courage! You will take Quebec in the spring; and your feet will be on the necks of the French."

After this, they agreed upon the following answer, to be sent to the governor of Canada.

"Yonondio! you desire us to meet you at Cadaracqui in the spring. But how can we trust you? You have cheated us too often. Your council fire at Cadaracqui is extinguished. It is put out with blood. You must send home Tawerahet and all the prisoners first, or we cannot treat with you. And you must not think that we have laid down the axe. We intend no such thing. Our far-fighters

will continue the war, until the prisoners are all returned."

Such was the result of the council. The Canadian messengers, finding they could effect nothing with all their wheedling and presents, returned home disappointed, while the Five Nations remained faithful to their treaties with the English. And yet they were a jealous and proud people. At this very council, the Mohawk messengers, who had been sent from Albany, had taken English goods with them, to trade away privately among the Indians. This was observed at the council; and it lowered *Quider* (Schuyler) very much in their eyes; for it is exceedingly scandalous among the Indians to employ a trader in public affairs. They look upon the traders, who come among themselves, as liars and cheats.

Schuyler could not regain their favor without clearing himself, by an oath, of having had any thing to do with the goods. It seems that the Mohawk messengers had refused to take the goods, when the owners of them at Albany first pressed them to do so. They were at last persuaded, by being told that the goods were Schuyler's. This was false; but they supposed it to be a fact, and so reported it among the Indians at the council.

CHAPTER XIV.

The French send an Expedition against the New York People. How they surprised and sacked Schenectady in the Night-time. Terrible Havoc made of the English. Story about Captain Glen. The Indians condole with the English for this Loss. Speech of a Sachem. War-parties are sent out in Pursuit of the French.

THE French at length came to the conclusion that the surest way of being rid of the Five Nations would be to send expeditions against their allies, the English. In the winter of 1690, therefore, not long after the Oneida council, of which I have just given some account, France and England being now at war, a war-party was sent out against New York. It consisted of one hundred and fifty French *bush-loppers*, or Indian traders, guided by as many savages of the half-civilized tribe called the Praying Indians.

They were commanded by Monsieur De Herville. This gentleman had proposed to make his first attack upon Albany; but the Indians persuaded him to march for Schenectady, something over fifteen miles to the north-west of that place, and about as far from the villages of the Mohawk tribe. The Praying Indians, who acted as guides, were familiar with the situation of Schenectady, where they had often visited; and they, therefore, felt more at home

in attacking this place, than in marching against Albany.

The Schenectady people were at this time in perfect security. They had received some hints, in an indirect way, of the intended expedition from Canada; but they considered it impossible for men to march so many hundreds of miles through the snow, without tents, and with no provisions but such as they might carry in their knapsacks and pockets.

The very evening before the assault upon Schenectady, they received information that Indians, and rather suspicious looking ones too, had been seen skulking about the outskirts of the town. But this, thought they, was no wonderful thing. There were always many friendly Indians living and hunting in that neighborhood. It was foolish to be frightened before they were hurt. So careless were they, in fine, that not a single man among them thought of undertaking to keep watch over night.

Meanwhile, the French had arrived in the immediate neighborhood of the town, where they lay encamped and concealed in the woods. But they had had a hard time of it. They had been twenty-two days on their cold and hungry march through the wilderness from Montreal. Indeed, they were reduced to such extremities when they reached the place just mentioned, that they had thoughts of surrendering themselves prisoners of war to the people of Schenectady. They held a

council for the purpose of deciding this very question. But, just at that time, their scouts, who had straggled about near the village for some hours, unknown and unsuspected by the English, returned with such accounts of the carelessness of the people, that the French determined immediately upon the assault.

It was on Saturday night, at eleven o'clock, that they entered the gates of the town, which were found unshut. That every house might be attacked at the same moment, they divided their force into parties of six and seven. The inhabitants were in profound sleep: not a sound was heard throughout the unfortunate town, but now and then the crowing of a cock, or the baying of a watch-dog.

The doors of every house were burst open at almost the same instant, and the enemy rushed in. The houses, barns and sheds were fired at the same time, and the whole village was soon in flames. No tongue can express the horrors of the scene. Men, women and children were massacred in cold blood, without mercy. Infants were taken by the feet, and their brains dashed out upon the posts of the doors.

Sixty persons were murdered in this ferocious manner, and twenty-seven others were carried off prisoners. The rest of the population fled, naked, to Albany, through a deep snow, which fell that night in a terrible storm. As many as twenty-five of these poor fugitives lost some of their limbs in

this flight through the woods, by the severity of the frost. The French returned to Canada, but not entirely unpunished. One hundred of the Mohawks pursued them, fell upon their rear, and killed and captured twenty-five of their number.

At the time of this horrible massacre, one Captain Alexander Glen lived by himself, on the side of the river opposite Schenectady. He was the most noted man in that neighborhood. He had several times treated the Canadians with kindness, especially several of them taken captive by the Mohawks, and by them condemned to be burned. These he had ransomed and saved. Partly from gratitude, it may be hoped, and partly, no doubt, from motives of policy, the French determined to spare this man. On the night of the massacre, therefore, as they entered Schenectady, they passed Glen's house without disturbing him. Observing, the next morning, that he had fortified his dwelling, and stood upon his defence, some of them went to the river-side, and shouted to him, saying he should fear nothing. They persuaded him even to visit the French commander, De Herville, who afterwards restored to him all his relations who were still prisoners in Canada.

Some Mohawks also were found in the village; and these were dismissed in the same civil manner. The French wished that nation, and the other Five Nations, to believe that no war was intended against *them*, but only against the English. But

in this attempt to wheedle the Mohawks, they were unsuccessful, as we have just seen. This appears also from a speech which some of their sachems made to the Albany people. They visited that place immediately after the massacre. They found the English settlers there so alarmed and disheartened by the fate of Schenectady, and the dread of a similar assault on themselves from Canada, that they had resolved to leave Albany for ever, and remove to New York. The sachems found them actually packing up their goods and furniture, with this view. They then addressed them in the following manner :—

“ Brothers! the murder of our friends at Schenectady grieves us as much as if we ourselves had suffered; for we are all bound together by one chain. The French have not acted, on this occasion, like brave men. They have acted like thieves and robbers. Be not discouraged, therefore. We give this belt to wipe away your tears.

“ Brothers! we lament with you the death of our brethren. But it cannot be called a victory of the French. It is but a new proof of their deceit. Yonondio sent us messengers to talk of peace; but war, even then, was in his heart. He has now broken open our house at both ends, formerly in the country of the Senecas, and now here. But we hope to be revenged of them. One hundred of our bravest young men are in pursuit of them. They are brisk fellows, and will follow the French

to their very doors. Not a man in Canada shall dare to step out of his house to cut a stick of wood. But now we gather up our dead to bury them." Here a second belt was given.

"Brothers! be not discouraged. We are strong enough. We find your house here [meaning the council-house at Albany] polluted with blood. All the Five Nations have heard of this; and we are come to wipe away the blood, and to clean the house. We come to invite Corlear and Quider, and every one of you [naming over the chief men of Albany], to be revenged of the enemy. The whole house [all the country] have their eyes fixed upon you at this time, to observe your behavior and follow your example. Take heart, brothers; take heart. Do not pack up and go away. The French would laugh at you. As for ourselves, we are of the race of the *bear*; and the bear, you know, fights to the last breath. We must all be bears."

Here another belt was given. Several other arguments were used, and other presents delivered, which I need not repeat. We cannot but admire the firm and manly friendship of these savages. They adhered more closely to the English, in their present adversity, than they ever had done in better days. It is worthy of remark, in this place, that the Five Nations, in the whole course of their history, have maintained this reputation of constancy and good faith.

They adhered to their promise of harassing the

French. The latter, throughout Canada, were in terrible fear of them all the summer. A party of the Indians even dared to land upon the island of Montreal itself. They were discovered by the sentinel of a French corps of soldiery, which happened to be encamped on the island; but they killed the French commander and twelve of his men before they retreated. Another party of Indians carried off fifteen prisoners from a Canadian settlement called Riviere Puante. This party was pursued, and, finding they were likely to be overpowered, they murdered their unfortunate prisoners, and escaped.

CHAPTER XV.

The Five Nations invade Canada. The English also fit out an Expedition against Montreal. Defence of that Place by the French. Battle between the English, French and Indians. Second Battle. Other Anecdotes of the War. Hunting Beaver. Another French Invasion of New York. Result of it. The Indians invade Canada again, under BLACK KETTLE.

THESE continual incursions of the Indians at length obliged Count Frontenac to station all his troops on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, as a defence against this restless and inveterate enemy. Notwithstanding that movement, however, five Canadians were carried away, in sight of Fort

Sorel, by a small skulking party. These were soon after recovered by the soldiers of the garrison.

About the same time, other parties were burning the plantations about a Canadian town called St. Ours. At another time, a French officer, with thirty-eight men, surprised some Indians in a hut which they had set up for a temporary shelter near Lake St. Pierre. Some of them escaped, and gave the alarm to their companions in two neighboring huts, which the enemy had not discovered. The French were now attacked in their turn; and the captain, lieutenant and half the men were killed. The Canadians dared not even plough or plant in their open fields; and the consequence was a famine.

They were much alarmed, too, by an incursion of the English into Canada, under Major Schuyler, or *Quider*, as the savages still called him. He was still so much a favorite with them, that half of the three hundred men in his party were Mohawk and other Indians, the rest being English. He set out from Albany about midsummer (1690). On his march, as he was busily preparing his canoes to pass Corlear's Lake, on his route to Canada, he was discovered by some French Indians, who immediately fled for Montreal, and gave the alarm there.

M. De Callieres was governor of that town at this period. He at once set about preparing to give Schuyler a warm reception, by drawing all the militia and regular troops of the neighborhood to-

gether, for the defence of the town. It was fortunate for him that a great many Indians of the Uttawas tribe were at this time trading at Montreal. Callieres artfully undertook to engage them in his service. He made a great feast for them, and entertained them in person. Then, after the Indian manner, while the eyes of all this grim and savage assembly were turned upon him, he began the war-song of the Uttawas.

He then led up the dance, with a battle-axe in his hands, shouting and singing in the Indian style. After these ceremonies were over, and the Indians enlisted in his service, he crossed the river with his own troops, amounting to 1200 men. The Uttawas, the Praying, and other Indians, followed him. Among the rest was the famous Tarawahet, who had been, long before this, entirely gained over by the caresses and kindness of Count Frontenac. The whole party encamped on the south side of the river St. Lawrence, at a place called Magdalen's Prairie, and around a fort which stood on a rising ground, between two meadows.

Meanwhile, Major Schuyler, having left forty men behind him to guard the canoes in which he had crossed Corlear's Lake, was now marching on at a rapid pace. He at last arrived at a long and narrow glen, or hollow, leading into the first meadow mentioned above, without yet being discovered by the French. Marching under cover of this glen, silently as possible, in the night, he fell sud-

denly, with his three hundred men, upon the French militia. They were confused by his sudden attack, and not less so by the horrible yells of the Indians who were with him.

Many of the militia, and of the Uttawas, who were near them, were slain on the spot. The rest fled to the French fort. Schuyler pursued them, and assaulted the fort very briskly, but was obliged to retire, by the approach of the regular troops, who marched up to relieve it. Schuyler now found that the enemy were too many for him. He had ascertained, too, that a considerable body of them had marched southward. He began to apprehend that his retreat might be cut off by his canoes being found and destroyed. He resolved, therefore, immediately to follow this party. He overtook them by a few hours' march, when, they entrenching themselves behind some large fallen trees, he attacked them with great spirit, and forced a passage through their ranks, sword in hand, though with considerable loss.

By their own account, the French lost, in these two actions, more men than Schuyler's whole force consisted of. Among the killed were two captains, six lieutenants and five ensigns. Schuyler's Mohawks suffered much, having seventeen killed and eleven wounded. These Indians signalized themselves by their bravery in all these skirmishes. They yielded not an inch of ground upon any occasion

until the English set the example of retreat. The whole party reached Albany on the 11th of August.

During the following fall and winter, the war was continued with various success. Two Indian prisoners taken at La Prairie, in Canada, by the French, were given up to the Uttawas, and by them burnt alive. It was generally supposed that this took place at the instigation of the French. Their object was to make still more inveterate the hatred already existing between the Uttawas and the Five Nations.

Forty Mohawks made an assault, soon afterwards, upon Fort Vercheres, near the St. Lawrence, and carried off twenty Canadians captive. The alarm soon reached Montreal, and M. De Crizaei, with a hundred men of the regular French troops, pursued the Indians, and recovered most of the prisoners.

Soon after this, Count Frontenac was informed that a considerable party of the Five Nations were hunting beaver on a neck of land between Lake Cadaracqui and Lake Erie. He resolved to show them that war-time was no time for hunting. He sent three hundred men to surprise them, under the command of M. Beaucour, a young French gentleman. The Praying Indians of Montreal joined the party. This expedition being during the winter, they were obliged to undergo terrible sufferings. They marched upon the snow with snow-shoes,—a very long, wide, flat article, made chiefly of light,

tough wood,—which kept them from sinking and plunging in the drifts.

Their provisions they carried on their backs. Several of them had their feet frozen. This obliged fifteen of them to return, with some old Indians who could not bear the fatigue of the march. It was with much difficulty that Beaucour could persuade the rest to proceed farther. Day after day, and night after night, for hundreds of miles, they kept on, over river, and mountain, and swamp, and forest. They came up with the hunting Indians at last, and completely surprised and overpowered them; eighty of the latter being killed, after a very brave defence; and three women were made prisoners. With these the French returned to Montreal. A few of their straggling small parties marched, soon afterwards, towards Albany. They did no mischief but to kill two or three solitary English settlers, and to alarm the neighboring country.

In the summer of 1692, the trade which the French had carried on up the lakes with the French settlement at Michilimackinac, was entirely broken up by the war-parties of the Five Nations investing Cadaracqui river, by which the Indian traders were in the habit of passing to and fro. Captain La Noue, with a detachment of regular troops, was sent from Montreal early in the season, to guard the traders through this passage. He found the enemy at the Falls of Calumette, a little sooner and a little stronger than he expected; and so the valiant captain con-

sulted his own disposition and the safety of his men, by turning about as quickly as possible, and making the best of his way back to Montreal.

The captain had, however, no sooner reached that town, than he was ordered to march off again in precisely the same direction, and with the same purpose as before. He went, accordingly, as far as the river Du Lievre, ninety miles from Montreal ; but there discovering several canoes of the Five Nations, the captain's heart failed him again, and he marched home once more with his men. The latter seemed to be perfectly willing to submit to his orders : they were not much braver than himself.

The Quatoghie and other Indians now informed the French of another and smaller river running into Cadaracqui river, from the northward. By this stream they said a passage might be made to the lakes ; and this it was resolved to attempt, although it was farther round than the other, and dangerous, on account of many more rapid falls. Three officers, with thirty soldiers, were sent with the traders for this purpose ; but a party of the Five Nations meeting with them at a deep fall in the river, they were all killed or taken but four, who escaped back to Montreal.

A large party of the Five Nations, under the command of BLACK KETTLE, a famous warrior, continued a long time at and about Cadaracqui river, in hopes of meeting with other French parties, in their passage towards Michilimackinac ; but finding that no

attempts were made that way, he resolved to make an excursion into the country about Montreal. The French writers say he had six hundred men with him; but this is rather doubtful.

No doubt he had a large party; and he overran Canada like a torrent from the mountains. Throughout the country, the soldiers had orders to stand on the defensive within their forts. After Black Kettle had thus ravaged and burnt every thing before him for some weeks, M. De Vaudreuil pursued them, at the head of four hundred men, and overtook and surprised them. The Five Nations fought desperately, but were finally obliged to retreat, by forcing themselves a passage through the ranks of the enemy around them. They lost twenty men killed upon the spot; and five men, nine women and five children, prisoners. The French lost four officers and several privates.

The Five Nations avenged themselves, in some degree, for this defeat, by attacking a French vessel on the river St. Lawrence. The captain of it had been sent to guard vessels from Quebec to Montreal. He was returning, when the Indians set upon him with their canoes, boarded his vessel, and killed himself and most of the crew and troops who were with him.

CHAPTER XVI.

How Governor Frontenac revenged himself against the Five Nations, by burning two Indian Prisoners. Distress of the Canadians. Another French Expedition against the Mohawks. They surprise one of the Mohawk Forts. Take Possession of another after a Battle. The Mohawks enraged against the English. The English pursue the French. Anecdotes of this Expedition. Result of it.

COUNT FRONTENAC had no better way to console himself, it seems, than by condemning two prisoners of the Five Nations to be burnt alive in public.

The Jesuit clergymen of Montreal, and many other persons, more humane or more politic than himself, interceded for the poor Indians, but in vain. "It has become necessary," said the enraged and mortified old governor, "to make such an example as may frighten these horrible enemies of ours. We have shown them but too much indulgence already. They ravage our plantations under our very eyes, and advance to the very gates of our towns. They think that they run no risk but that of being made prisoners; and this, say they, is no risk at all; for they live better among us, as captives, than they do in their own country, as freemen. They must be burnt, and they shall be."

And burnt they were, accordingly. The Jesuits were humane enough to undertake to reason with

the poor wretches about believing in the Christian religion, as their only consolation in death. But the Indians would hear nothing. They thought it impossible that any thing good or true should be taught them by a Frenchman; and they began to prepare for death, in the manner of their own nation, by singing their death-songs.

Some charitable person threw a knife into their prison, through the iron grates of the windows. With this one of them despatched himself. The other was led out to the place of execution by the Christian Indians of a place near Montreal, called Loretto. He walked calmly and firmly, to all appearances, as ever martyr did to the stake. He continued singing even while they were torturing him. He was a warrior, brave and without fear, he said; the most cruel death could not move him to a groan; his comrade was a coward, and a scandal to the Five Nations, for having killed himself for fear of pain. And he had the comfort to reflect furthermore, he added, that he had made many a Frenchman suffer as he did then. The French Indians tried their utmost arts of torture upon him; but he continued to sing, and laugh at them, until his senses left him entirely from excess of suffering. The Indians very generally endure sufferings of every kind with astonishing fortitude.

But Frontenac soon found that he must do something more than this to raise the spirits of the people of Canada. The torture of two miserable wretches

gave them but slight comfort, while the enemy infested the country to such a degree, that no man dared to go unarmed from his house to his well or spring for a pail of water. He therefore planned an expedition against the Mohawks; and, to surprise them the better, he chose the winter-season for the purpose.

The body of the French designed for this expedition was put under three captains of the regular troops, and thirty subalterns. It consisted of picked men of the regular troops, the common militia of Canada, the Praying Indians, the Quatoghies of Loretto, and of other Indians who joined them from the district of Maine. They amounted in all to six or seven hundred men, well supplied with all sorts of ammunition, provisions, snow-shoes, and such conveniences for carriages as could be used in deep snow and close forests. These were chiefly a kind of light sledge, made of skins, and drawn by large dogs on the frozen snow.

They set out from Magdalen's Prairie on the 15th of January, 1692. After having endured what might have been thought insurmountable hardships, they passed by Schenectady, at some distance from it, on the 8th of February. At this time, an Englishman who had been taken captive when that village was sacked, escaped from the French party, and gave the people of Schenectady warning of their numbers, and the direction in which they were marching. An express was im-

mediately despatched to Albany, with the same intelligence.

There the militia were mustered together as fast as possible; and a lieutenant, with fifty-five troopers, was sent to Schenectady to defend that place. But no care was taken to give the Mohawks notice, which might have been easily done by sending a messenger up the south side of the Mohawk river, while the French were continuing their march down on the north. By dusk, on the night of the 8th, the French reached the first Mohawk castle or fort. In this, there were but five men as a garrison, and a few women and children, all in the utmost security. These were captured; and this fort, and a second one, of about the same size, readily taken possession of by the French.

They then marched on to the next Mohawk fort, which was the largest. On reaching it about midnight, they heard some noise, which led them to suspect they were discovered. It was occasioned, however, by a war-dance of the Mohawks in the fort, forty of them having determined to start off upon some enterprise the next morning. The French approached, and silently surrounded the fort. Finding the Indians entirely off their guard, they opened the gate, and entered without being discovered.

But, notwithstanding the confusion which the Indians were thrown into by this sudden entrance, they resisted bravely, and thirty of the French party

were killed during the struggle. The French would have put all the prisoners to the sword in cold blood ; but even their own Indians would not suffer such an atrocious massacre, and they gave quarter. Three hundred Mohawks were taken, of whom one hundred were warriors.

Schenectady being the nearest English settlement to the Mohawks, and but a short distance from their nearest fort, many of the tribe were always at that village. Some were there at this time ; and intelligence soon reached them of the havoc the French were making in the Mohawk country. They were exceedingly enraged, that the Schenectady people had given them no warning of the approach of the French. The English sent scouts upon the rear of the invaders, to learn their proposed route ; but these scouts returned to Schenectady without doing their duty, and the measure only served to increase the resentment of the Mohawks at that place. They were angry, too, because no assistance had been sent to the Mohawk tribe.

The account soon came to Albany, how much these Indians were enraged by the conduct of their English allies. Their old friend "Quider" (Peter Schuyler) immediately offered to set off with whatever force could be got ready for their assistance. He marched to Schenectady in less than one day, and sent out scouts from that place to discover the route of the enemy. They brought him intelligence,

that the two first forts were taken ; then that they heard a great noise in the direction of the third ; and, finally, that the third was taken, garrison and all.

Schuyler had now mustered about two hundred and fifty English soldiers. He waited a day or two for the Mohawks to join him. This they did on the 15th of the month, with about three hundred men and boys, very poorly armed, and in fact a mere rabble. He now began his pursuit of the enemy. On the 16th, he was informed by a straggling Indian, who pretended to be a deserter, that the French had built a fort in a place where they designed to wait for him, and fight him. Schuyler now halted, and sent an express back to Albany, for a reinforcement. He very soon found out, however, that the Indian had deceived him. The French had sent him, in the character of a deserter, merely to frighten and delay the English party.

Schuyler now pressed his pursuit of the enemy, and overtook them on the 17th. As soon as he came in sight of them, he was saluted by three loud shouts, which his own party answered with as much noise. His Indians, however, were a little startled by the force of the French ; and they began to intrench themselves by felling trees for a sort of breastwork. The French perceived this, and sallied out to prevent it ; but they were beaten back. The Indians then fell to work again, calling loudly upon the English to assist them.

This request was complied with, but in such con-

fusion and haste that the English themselves were in danger from the falling trees. The French now came upon them a second time, with their whole force. "The English run!" shouted they; "the Mohawks run! Let us cut them off. Let us get their provisions." But they found themselves rather mistaken in their calculation. The English and Mohawks left their breastwork, leaped actively over the fallen trees, and gave their assailants such a reception, with their hatchets, axes, clubs, and whatever else was near them, that the enemy soon gave up all thought of the "provisions," and fled like a pack of foxes.

Whether they grew more courageous, or only more hungry, they soon came on a third time; but they were now treated still worse than before, the Mohawks soon bringing in many of their heads and scalps. When the skirmishing was over, Schuyler sent a second express to Albany, for a reinforcement of troops and a supply of provisions, some of his men having had nothing to eat for two days. He then secured himself under the cover of fallen trees, and kept out watches to observe the French.

On the 18th, a cold, stormy day, he was informed by a deserter that the French were marching off. It was no easy matter to pursue them, or to discover their tracks on the snow, in such weather; but the English officers were ordered to follow them, and retard their march as much as possible until the reinforcement should arrive. All of the English sol-

diers, however, refused to march without provisions, excepting sixty. These, with a body of Indians, followed the French till night, when they began to secure themselves by fortifying their camp.

Forty of the English and a hundred Indians were left to observe them; and the rest returned. On the 19th, the provisions, with about eighty men, arrived. Every man, as he was served with provisions, now marched off towards the enemy. The front-guard soon came up again with the French rear, and would have attacked them, to retard their march, but that the Mohawks were averse to fighting. The French purposely dropped several of their prisoners, who told the Mohawks that the French were resolved to put all the prisoners to the sword if they should be attacked.

The enemy passed the north branch of Hudson river on a collection of broken ice, which lodged there very opportunely, a recent thaw having opened the stream both above and below. The weather was now so cold, and the Indians so tired of the pursuit, that Schuyler was obliged to abandon it on the 20th. He had lost four of his English soldiers, and as many of his Indians, besides wounded. The French lost thirty-three killed, four of whom were officers (as the deserters told him), and twenty-six wounded. Fifty of the Mohawk prisoners, too, were recovered.

Schuyler might have gone farther, perhaps, but his force was near famishing, their provisions having

almost wholly failed them. The Mohawks fed upon the bodies of the French who were killed. It is said that Schuyler himself, in going the rounds of his camp one night, was invited by some of the Mohawks to eat *broth* with them. He accepted their invitation, to please them. They gave him a plate of broth, and he ate it. They then put the ladle into their kettle, over the camp-fire, for more. The meat in it was a *man's hand*! Schuyler immediately rose and walked off, sick and shuddering with horror. The French were reduced to the same extremities before they reached Canada. They were obliged even to boil and eat their shoes.

CHAPTER XVII.

Account of the Indian Mode of Travelling and Encamping in the Winter. Indian Council at Albany in 1693. Presents given to the Mohawks by the English. Another French Expedition in 1696. How the Troops travelled through the Wilderness. A Seneca deserts from their Army. How Governor Frontenac was carried in a Chair. An old Indian burned and tortured. Result of the Expedition. Anecdotes.

My young friends may wonder how it was possible for men to march hundreds of miles through the wilderness, while the ground was every where covered with snow, two or three feet deep, and perhaps

more. The foremost of the party always marched in the snow-shoes I have described to you, and so beat a fine smooth track for those that followed. At night, when they halted, they dug a hole in a deep drift, throwing the snow up all round, but highest on that side from which the wind blew. This hole was dug large enough to contain as many men as could lie about a large fire, which was made in the middle. The frozen ground round it was covered with small green branches: and here, it is said, a man might lie much warmer than any one would imagine who never tried it. The Indians of the present day often accommodate themselves, on their winter journeys, in much the same manner.

The Mohawks were exceedingly mortified and depressed in spirits by the last successes of the French. Indeed, the English were fearful that a peace might now be effected between the Five Nations and the French. They sent for the former, therefore, in July, 1693, to meet them at Albany, for a council. Here Mr. Fletcher, who was governor of New York at this time, did his utmost to soothe and encourage them; but his most effectual argument, and one which entirely persuaded them of the propriety of adhering to the English, was a present of ninety guns, eight hundred and ten pounds of powder, eight hundred bars of lead, a thousand flints, eighty-seven hatchets, four gross of knives, and a great quantity of clothing and provisions.

All this, he told them, came from the king and

queen of England (William and Mary), who desired to renew the league with them. They were delighted with the presents, and readily consented to renew their old league. Their orators expressed the gratitude of the tribe in the following strong language: "Brother Fletcher," said they, "we roll and wallow in joy, by reason of the great favor the mighty king and queen have done us, in sending us these things in our greatest need."

The war was continued for two years between the Indians and the French, with various success. In September, 1695, Fletcher met them again, and gave them new presents. Among the rest were a thousand pounds of powder, two thousand pounds of lead, fifty-seven fusees, a hundred hatchets, three hundred and forty-eight knives, and two thousand flints.

A year after this, the Count de Frontenac determined to make one more resolute and vigorous attack upon the Mohawks. With this view, he assembled all the regular troops of Canada, the militia, and the warriors of eight or ten Indian tribes, from Maine and various sections of Canada. This was in June, 1696. He left La Chine, on the south side of the Island of Montreal, on the 4th of July.

The only method of travelling, for such an army, through the wilderness, and over lakes and rivers, was in bark canoes, or very light batteaux. These may be easily carried on men's shoulders, where the stream of a river becomes too rapid to navigate

them. Such places are consequently called carrying-places or portages. The count divided his five hundred Indians in such a manner that the greatest part of them should always be near the front-guard, which consisted of two battalions of regular troops. This body was commanded by Callieres, governor of Montreal. He had with him two large batteaux, which carried two large pieces of cannon, some small mortars, grenadoes, and the utensils of the artillery. Frontenac was at the head of the main body, consisting of four battalions of militia.

The rear, which was composed of two battalions of regular troops, and of the rest of the Indians, was commanded by the French Chevalier de Vaudreuil. All the Indians had French officers set over them. In this order, the army marched on, day after day, except that those who were in the van one day were in the rear the next. A number of Indians were kept always on the scout, to discover the tracks of the enemy, for fear of ambuscade. Whenever they were obliged to carry the canoes, and drag the large, loaded batteaux, several parties were detached to cover the men engaged in this business. I give you all these particulars, that you may entirely understand the nature of these expeditions of which I have told you so much.

After twelve days' march, the party I have just described reached Cadaracqui fort, one hundred and eighty miles from Montreal. They then crossed over Cadaracqui lake to Onondaga river (now

Oswego). This river being rapid and narrow, they ordered fifty men to march on each side of it, to prevent their being surprised. The rest of the army moved slowly along the river, according to the intelligence they received from the scouts. They found a tree, as they passed along, on which the Mohawks had painted the French army, in their manner, and had laid by it two bundles of cut rushes.

This was a defiance in the Indian style ; and the number of rushes gave them notice that 1434 men would meet them. The French passed the little lake between Oswego and Onondaga in order of battle ; and the two wings, to prevent their being surprised, and to make the place of their landing more secure, took a circuit around the two extremities of the lake by land. As soon as all had arrived at the landing-place, they raised a fort. A Seneca, who had been some time a prisoner in Canada, was sent out as a scout. He deserted to the Onondagas, whom he found waiting for the French, with a resolution to defend their castle, and to fight the French. With this view, they had sent away their women and children.

The Seneca told them that the French army was as numerous as the leaves of the trees ; and that they had machines which threw balls up in the air, and which, falling on their castle, burst to pieces, and spread fire and death every where. Against these, said the Seneca to the Onondagas, your fort and your stockades can be of no defence whatever.

All this was confirmed by another Seneca deserter. They had confused but awful ideas, it seems, of the bombs and grenadoes of the French. The horrible story which they told the Onondagas about them frightened the latter so much that they concluded to retreat, leaving their fort and their bark cottages all in flames.

After Frontenac had received an account of these circumstances, he marched to their village in order of battle. The army was divided into two lines. The first was commanded by the Chevalier de Callieres, who placed himself on the left; the second by Vaudreuil. The artillery went between these lines. The old Count Frontenac, now in his seventy-third year, was carried behind them in a large easy chair. It was impossible, indeed, to preserve this order exactly in crossing the brooks, and wading through the deep swamps of the woods; but nearly in this order, the French army marched up to the smoking and desolate village of the Onondagas. Here they were bitterly disappointed to find no enemy and no spoils. Not a living being was to be seen. There was nothing even to be destroyed but a large field of Indian corn. The militia, and the Indians in particular, made a valiant attack upon this, however, for want of better business; and the corn was laid low in a short time, a part of it being despatched on the spot, and the rest taken captive.

An Indian sachem, about one hundred years old,

was at last found in the village. He alone, of all his countrymen, had disdained to flee. "I will stay here," said he: "I have lived long enough: I will not save the short residue of my life by a base flight. Leave me to teach these Frenchmen what a man is, and how an Onondaga warrior can die."

The French Indians now had the pleasure of tormenting him; but he bore every thing with the most wonderful composure. He told his tormentors to remember his death well when his countrymen should come to take terrible vengeance upon them. At this, one of them was so irritated as to stab him several times with his knife. "I thank you," said the old sachem, with a sneer of contempt; "but you had better make me die by fire. These Frenchmen might then learn how to suffer like men. You Indians, their allies! you dogs of dogs! think of me when you shall suffer the same tortures." The savages could not endure these taunts, as the old sachem well knew; and they soon despatched and relieved him.

The Chevalier Vaudreuil was now sent to destroy the corn of the Oneidas. This service was not disagreeable to his troops; and they soon performed it without meeting with the slightest resistance, either from the corn or the owners of it. Thirty-five of the Oneidas remained in their village, to compromise and make friends with the French; but they met with the success they deserved for deserting their countrymen. The French carried

them all off captive to Canada. To the latter, the Onondagas gave no little trouble on their return. They followed them closely, and cut off every canoe which happened at any time to be at a distance from the main body. And thus ended this expensive and laborious expedition of the French, the last one undertaken during the war. Peace was declared the same season.

CHAPTER XVIII.

The early Settlement of Delaware by the Swedes. How this Settlement came to be made. Where it was made, and when. Account of the first Expeditions of Emigrants. About the Delaware Indians, and their Dealings with the Swedes. About the natural Productions of the Country. Other Anecdotes of the first Settlement. End of the Delaware History.

I DARE say my young friends are weary enough, by this time, of the wars and treaties of the Five Nations. I shall leave the history of New York, therefore, and give you some anecdotes of the early settlements of Delaware, to which, indeed, occasional allusions have already been made.

The first colony planted in this state came over from Sweden. The scheme of the enterprise was first formed in that kingdom, in the year 1626, under the reign of the celebrated Gustavus Adolphus. It was much forwarded by the great commendation

which William Usselin, an eminent Swedish merchant, gave of the country in the neighborhood of what was then called, as we have seen, New Netherlands, and of all the neighboring district. He had been in America himself.

Considerable sums were raised by contribution in Sweden; and, the next year, a number of Swedes and Finlanders came over to America. They first landed at Inlopen, the interior cape of Delaware Bay,—the outer cape of the same bay, in Fenwick's Island, being called by the Swedes Henlopen, as it is to this day. From the very pleasant appearance of Inlopen to them, on their first landing, they named it Paradise Point. They are said to have bought of the Indians all the land from this point to the falls of the Delaware river. To this river they gave the name of New Swedeland Stream.

They lived many years in perfect amity with the savages, making presents to the sachems, and holding conferences and councils with them from time to time. They met with some little trouble now and then from the Dutch of New York, as I have intimated in my sketches of the latter province. In 1630, the Dutch were so bold as to build a fort within the Capes of Delaware, at the place now called Lewistown, but then, and for some time after, Hoerkill. But they so far agreed with the Swedes, notwithstanding this encroachment, as the latter considered it, as to unite with them in expelling all other trespassers or intruders. The

English, among the rest, had now begun to settle near or upon the east side of the Delaware.

The Dutch were complained of by the English, on the other hand, as, indeed, might have been expected. "They endanger all his majesty's adjoining countries (said an English writer soon after the time now in question), most wickedly, feloniously and traitorously, contrary to the laws of all Christians, selling guns, powder, shot and ammunition to the Indians, by wholesale; and instructing them, moreover, in the use of arms." It was said of the Swedes, too, that they even hired out some of their soldiers to the Susquehannock Indians, to teach them the Swedish methods of fighting, and the management of fire-arms.

Delaware is described by the same ancient and quaint writer just quoted. Having seen it himself, he seemed to consider it one of the most perfect countries on the globe,—the soil rich, the streams and rivers abundant, numerous beautiful islands off the coast, and the climate the healthiest in the world. Then, we are told, the country was covered over with fine woods. "It was replenished with excellent timber for ships and masts. In all parts of it grew mulberries, sweet cypress, cedars, pines and fir trees, several sorts of grapes, excellent for wine and raisins, and the greatest variety of choice fish, fruit and fowl."

Then the uplands were covered, many months of

the year, with berries, roots, chestnuts, walnuts, beech and oak *mast* (nuts and acorns). As might be expected from such an abundance of good things, we are told that turkeys and hogs ran wild in the woods, hundreds together. The Indians within or near the limits of Delaware were supposed to amount to about eight hundred. They, however, gave the settlers but little trouble. They went naked and unarmed, for the most part, and were exceedingly afraid of the guns and pikes of their civilized neighbors.

The writer above referred to furthermore adds, that he saw an infinite multitude of bustards, swans, geese, and other fowl, covering the shores. In the interior was "the like multitude of pigeons and store of turkeys." Of the latter, he found one which weighed forty-six pounds. This was a monstrous fellow, indeed, and must have furnished him sufficient provisions, one would think, for a week. Then there was plenty of excellent sea-fish, and shell-fish, and whales and grampus. "The woods were bestrewed many months with chestnuts, beech-nuts, and other things to feed them; and hogs, that would increase exceedingly."

It was justly thought an additional privilege in the situation of this territory, that twenty-four hours' sail, with a fair wind, would carry a vessel either to Virginia, or to the nearest parts of New England. It was impossible, on the whole, but

that the first settlers should have lived like princes, at least in regard to both the quality and quantity of their provisions.

In this respect, like the settlers of Pennsylvania, they had a great advantage over the settlers of New England and Virginia. The Delaware Indians, moreover, brought them large quantities of "Indian corn," at a shilling a bushel "in truck." *In truck* means *in barter*. The Indians took their pay, generally, in knives, needles, beads, blankets, paint, old coats, old kettles, and other things of the same kind. Our writer's glowing description of Delaware, and the neighboring country, concludes with the following address to a nobleman in England, for whose information, particularly, it was written: "If my lord will come over here with three hundred men, he may do very well, and grow rich. It is a most clear, delightful air; and such pure, wholesome springs, rivers and waters; with so many varieties of several flowers, trees and forests for swine; so many fair risings and prospects, all green and verdant; and Maryland, a good friend and neighbor, within four-and-twenty hours, ready to comfort and supply."

Perhaps I may give you some anecdotes of the subsequent settlements in Delaware. They were less interesting, however, than the first, and less is known of them. As Delaware is a small state, I shall not be expected to dwell so much upon it as upon the others. You will remember I have

already mentioned, in the history of New York, how the Dutch conquered the Delaware Swedes in 1656, and how, eight years afterwards, the English conquered the Dutch.

CHAPTER XIX.

The first Settlement of Maryland owing to the Exertions of Sir George Calvert. Some Account of Calvert. Anecdotes. He commences a Colony at Newfoundland, in 1621. Progress of it. Abandonment of it. He visits Virginia. How the Virginians treated him. Visits Newfoundland again. Gets a Charter of Maryland. Why the Province was so named. Death of Sir George. The Settlement commenced by his Sons.

THE first settlement of Maryland was owing to the exertions of Sir George Calvert, an Englishman and a papist. Under King James, he was one of the principal English secretaries of state; and, either by that monarch, or his successor, Charles I., he was created "lord baron of Baltimore," in Ireland, as some reward for his loyal services to the crown. One of these services, it is said by some writers, consisted in his efforts, on a certain occasion, to bring about a match between Prince Charles and a royal princess of Spain.

It may not be true, but he is also *said* to have been one of those whom Count Gondemar, the Spanish ambassador, engaged, by means of presents and

pensions, to make King James favorable to the marriage of his son just mentioned. This is not unlikely; and it shows, if true, that Sir George was among the most influential of the courtiers.

I will mention the well-known fact here, that the count bribed the ladies of the court, or, at least, all the leading characters among them, excepting Lady Jacobs. She, upon his passing by her windows, in his chaise, instead of answering his salutations as usual, only gaped. She did the same again the next day; and the count then had the curiosity to ask the reason: "*I have a mouth to stop,*" said she, "*as well as other ladies.*" He took the hint, and made her a handsome present. Owing to the general unpopularity of their tenets, the Catholics were as uncomfortably situated in England, during this reign, as the Puritans, whom I have given some account of in my History of New England. Calvert availed himself, therefore, of his remaining favor, to procure a grant of land, and a permission to colonize it, in America. His first attempt was made in 1621, at a place called Ferryland, a harbor on the eastern coast of Newfoundland. Here, under Calvert's direction, one Captain Wynne commenced a Catholic settlement, erected granaries and store-houses, and built several dwelling-houses of considerable size.

In the following year, he set up a salt-work, and received fresh supplies of stores from England, with an additional number of colonists. Such accounts

of the soil and the climate were now sent over to the mother country, that Calvert himself had thoughts of removing to Newfoundland, with his family. He visited the colony alone, as it was, and resided there some years. On the whole, however, he considered it a spot unfit for colonization; and he now began to turn his thoughts towards Virginia, where a colony had settled at Jamestown, in 1607. Of this country a great deal was said about this time; and, in 1628, Calvert determined to visit it.

He landed at Jamestown. The good people of this place, and especially the civil authorities, seem to have been rather more jealous of him as a Catholic than they chose to be hospitable towards him as a stranger. Immediately on his landing, the latter ordered the oaths of "supremacy and allegiance" to be tendered to him and his followers, as a condition of his remaining in the colony. But, like stanch Catholics, they all refused to take the oaths; and the Jamestown people could do nothing but refer the matter to the privy council of the king, in England. It was quite doubtful if they had a right to tender them as they did.

At all events, a good and sincere Catholic, like Lord Baltimore (as he was now called), could not conscientiously submit to them. He considered the pope to be the supreme head of the Christian church; but the oath of supremacy required him to acknowledge the king of England to be supreme governor of all his dominions, in all "ecclesiastical things or

causes," as well as temporal, or civil and political. Indeed, Pope Urban VIII. had issued a "bulle" or proclamation, only two years before, to the Irish Catholics, exhorting them "rather to lose their lives than to take that wicked and pestilent oath of supremacy, whereby," he said, "the sceptre of the Catholic church was wrested from the hand of the vicar of God." Thus that worthy pope had the modesty to style himself. Pope Paul, in 1606, had also forbidden the Catholics to take the oath of *allegiance* (to the king as sovereign).

Whether Lord Baltimore visited Maryland at this time, I do not find that historians determine. It seems likely, however, that he made the tour, by water, of the principal parts of the Chesapeake Bay. The English had made no settlements yet, or, at least, no permanent ones, in that region. The Virginians had only traded with the Indians at the head of the bay, though possibly they had built trading houses on some of the islands. The Swedes and Fins, as I have told you in the last chapter, had settled at Paradise Point, and afterwards at Wilmington, in Delaware, about the same time when Lord Baltimore visited Virginia.

He is also said to have visited his colony at Newfoundland twice after this, within a year or two. During the second visit, which was in 1629, France and England being then at war, he was so fortunate as to perform some considerable services, in recovering twenty sail of English ships, which had been

taken by a French squadron. He captured also several of the enemy's fishing ships, on the Newfoundland coast. In 1630, he returned to England to procure a grant of territory upon the Chesapeake, where he now determined to plant a new settlement.

He was still in favor with King Charles, on account of his ancient services to his father, King James. It was not difficult, therefore, to procure almost any grant which he chose to ask for. But before a patent could be adjusted, his lordship died, April 15, 1632. Of several of his sons, the patent was made out for the eldest, Cecilius, who now assumed his father's title. It was intended that the country granted by this charter should have been called *Crescentia* ; but when it was presented to the king for his signature, he desired that the province might be called Maryland. This was in compliment to his queen, Henrietta Maria, a daughter of the great King Henry IV., of France.

CHAPTER XX.

First Expedition of Emigrants to Maryland, in 1633. Arrive at Point Comfort. Ascend the River Potomac. Meet with Indians. Anecdote of Captain Fleet. Indian Chief goes on board the Vessels. Settlement made at St. Mary's. Stories about the Indians. About Governor Harvey, of Virginia. About the King of Patuxent. Prosperity of the Colony.

THE young Baron of Baltimore immediately set about preparing for the establishment of the proposed colony; but, instead of going to America himself, he employed his brother, Leonard Calvert, to go in his stead, as governor of the colony. The number of colonists was about two hundred. Some of the principal men among them were gentlemen of fortune. Most of them were Roman Catholics. They sailed from Cowes, in the Isle of Wight, on the 22d of November, 1633.

Taking the old route, by the Azores and West Indies, they touched at St. Christopher's and the Barbadoes. Here they staid for some months, probably for the purpose of timing their arrival in the Chesapeake, at the most favorable season of the year for colonizing in that climate. It was as late, therefore, as February, 1634, when they arrived off Point Comfort, in Virginia. Here, in consequence of recommendatory letters

from the king, which he had with him, Calvert was treated much more hospitably by the Virginians than his father had been before him.

On the 3d of March, he proceeded as far as the river Potomac. Sailing up forty miles, they came to an island called Heron Island, and anchored under another neighboring isle, to which they gave the name of St. Clement's. Here the governor landed; and, setting up a cross in the Roman Catholic manner, took formal possession of the country,—“for our Saviour, and for our sovereign lord, the King of England.” For the purpose of making discoveries, the governor left his ships here, and taking two pinnaces, proceeded about four leagues, and landed on the south, or Virginia side of the river. The Indians every where fled from him in great fear.

He ascended the river as far as an Indian town called Potomac Town. This was probably near what is now called Cedar Point, or Pickawaxen creek, in Charles county, Maryland. The chief, called in their language, the *werowance*, being an infant, the territory of this tribe was governed, in his minority, by his uncle; and this old sachem, named Archihan, received the strangers in a very friendly manner. From this place they ascended the river more than fifty miles to Piscataway. There they found many Indians assembled, and among them an Englishman, Captain Henry Fleet, who had lived

there several years, in great esteem with the savages, and perfectly satisfied with his situation.

Through Fleet's influence, the chief of this tribe was prevailed upon to go on board the governor's pinnace. The latter asked him if he was willing that he and his people should settle in the Indian country, in case they found a place convenient for them. "I will not bid you go," answered the chief; "neither will I bid you stay; but you may use your own discretion." The Indians on shore, finding that the chief staid on board longer than they expected, anxiously crowded down to the water side to look after his safety. They were afraid the English had killed him; and they were not satisfied till he showed himself, to appease them.

The governor inferred, from the cautious answer of the old chief, that it might not be advisable for him to settle so high up the river. He wished, also, to be nearer the sea-coast, and more accessible, of course, to ships arriving from England. He returned down the Potomac, therefore, as far as Clement's Isle, taking Fleet with him. He soon afterwards sailed up a small river, some dozen miles or more from the mouth of the Potomac. This he named St. George's river. He found an Indian town on its banks, called by the savages Yoamaco. The tribe at this place is supposed to have been one of the confederacy subject to King Powhatan (the greatest chieftain of all the Virginian Indians), and afterwards to his successors.

The governor landed here, entered into a conference or treaty with the *werowance*, and acquainted him with the cause of his coming. The Indian answered quite briefly and shrewdly, not wishing to encourage a settlement among them. But he hospitably invited the governor to his cabin, entertained him as kindly as he could, and at night gave him his own bed to lie upon. The next day he showed him the country.

The governor now determined to make the first settlement at this point. He sent orders to his ship and boats to come to him. In order to a peaceable admission into the country, he presented the *werowance*, and other chief men of the town, with some English cloth, axes, hoes and knives. These they accepted with pleasure, and freely consented that he and his company should dwell in one part of their town, reserving the village alone for themselves. Those Indians who inhabited that part which was assigned to the English, readily abandoned their huts to them.

The natives further agreed to leave the whole place to the English, as soon as they could gather their corn. This promise they faithfully performed. It was further stipulated, that, until that time, the two people should live in a friendly manner together. If any injury was done on either side, the party offending was to make satisfaction, upon demand of it.

On the 27th of March, 1634, the governor caused

his settlers to land, according to the agreement with the natives. He took possession of the town, and named it St. Mary's. A circumstance is said to have occurred at this time, which very much facilitated the treaty with the Indians. The Susquehannocks, savages who lived about the head of the bay, were in the practice of making incursions on their neighbors, chiefly for the sake of plunder. The Yoamacoes, through fear of these fierce enemies, had, a year before Calvert's colony arrived, resolved to desert their habitations, and remove higher into the country.

Many of them were actually gone ; the rest were preparing to follow them, about the time when the English arrived. The latter came in good season, therefore, to encourage and defend them. The first thing the governor caused to be done, after landing, was to erect two buildings ; one for a guard-house, and the other for a store-house. Others of the colonists were set to work in making preparations for the planting of corn. A few days afterwards, he received a friendly visit from Sir John Harvey, then governor of Virginia.

While the latter remained at St. Mary's, Governor Calvert was visited by several Indian sachems from the interior of the country. To please them, Governor Harvey made an entertainment on board his ship, then at anchor in the river. The Indian king of Patuxent was placed at the table with a good deal of parade, between the governors of Virginia

and Maryland. This gratified him much; but an accident occurred, which threatened to destroy the pleasure of the feast: a Patuxent Indian, coming on board, and seeing his king thus seated, started back, and refused to enter the cabin.

He imagined, it seems, that the king was confined by the governors as a captive. He would even have leaped overboard in his terror, had not the king himself come to him. The old Indian soon convinced him that none of the party were in much danger from the good cheer of the English.

The store-house being finished, it became necessary to unload the ship, and bring the stores on shore for the use of the colony. This the governor ordered to be done with as much solemnity as possible. He thought that doing it with pomp and state would impress the simple natives with a respect for the English. The colors were brought on shore, and the colonists all paraded under arms. Volleys of musketry were fired; and these were answered by discharges of cannon from on board the ship. The two kings, of Patuxent and Yoamaco, being present at this exhibition, with a multitude of other Indians about them, the former took occasion to advise the Yoamaco Indians to be careful in keeping their treaty with the English. They heard him with attention; and no doubt the scene and the advice together had a salutary effect upon their feelings and conduct.

The king of Patuxent remained at St. Mary's

several days after this. It is related that, when he took his leave, he made a somewhat remarkable speech to the governor:—"I love the English so well, that though they should go about to kill me, if I had so much breath as to speak, I would command my people not to revenge my death ; for I am certain the English would not do such a thing, if it were not for some fault or crime of my own." It seems that the hospitality of the governor, together with what the old sachem had seen and heard among the settlers, had made him their firm friend and determined ally.

And such he continued. The English and Indians lived together at St. Mary's, according to their stipulation at the first conference. And they lived in the utmost harmony. The natives went every day to hunt with the new-comers, for deer and wild turkeys. Whenever they caught or killed one, as they did much more frequently and easily than the English, they either gave it to them, or sold it for some such trifle as a knife or a string of beads. They also brought in abundance of fine fish. As a still more certain mark of the entire confidence they reposed in the colonists, their wives and children became, in many cases, quite domesticated and at home in the English families.

This colony, on the whole, seems to have prospered remarkably well ; and they owed much of their success, undoubtedly, to their own prudence. They took care to make their first landing, we have

seen, so early in the year as to allow them abundant time for raising corn and erecting habitations against the succeeding winter. They had also taken the precaution to bring along with them from Barbadoes, an additional supply of good Indian corn, beyond the flour and bread of their English stores.

They availed themselves of the friendship of the Indians, too, so completely as to obtain the use of their cleared and rich corn grounds. The consequence was such a luxuriant crop, that they are said to have exported 10,000 bushels more than they wanted to use, during the second season, to New England. This was mostly exchanged for salt fish and other provisions of the New England colonies.

CHAPTER XXI.

How the Land bought of the Indians was divided among the Settlers of Maryland. Trouble which Governor Calvert had with Captain Clayborne, Occasion of it. The Captain's Vessel seized by the Governor. He and his Lieutenant tried and condemned for Piracy. The Lieutenant hanged. The Captain runs away. Anecdotes. Close of the Maryland History. End of the Work.

It may be entertaining, as well as useful, for you to learn how the lands obtained, as I have told you, of the Indians, were afterwards divided among the colonists themselves. You must know that whatever was purchased by the governor was purchased

for the use and benefit of his brother, Lord Baltimore, for whom he acted on all occasions. He had obtained a grant of all Maryland, you recollect, from the king, and this gave him a title, it was thought, against all the world, excepting the Indian occupiers of the land. When *their* right or claim to it was bought up, therefore, it was bought for the benefit of Lord Baltimore.

The purchased lands were to be divided among the settlers there, just as he thought proper ; and he had made regulations on the subject in England, by which his brother, the governor, was now guided. Every one of the first adventurers, who should induce five other colonists, between sixteen and fifty years of age, to settle in the province, during the year 1633, was to have a grant of two thousand acres of land, "to him and his heirs forever," for the yearly rent of four hundred pounds of good wheat. A bushel of good sound wheat weighing about sixty pounds, you can soon calculate how much the rent amounted to.

Furthermore, every adventurer who should bring in fewer than five settlers, as above, was to have a hundred acres for himself, a hundred more for his wife (if he *had* a wife), one hundred for every servant, and fifty acres for every child under the age of sixteen years, for the rent of ten pounds of wheat yearly for every fifty acres. All this was to encourage the colonists to make efforts for increasing the population of the province.

With the same view, whoever should transport ten settlers from England, or any other country, into the

province, during the years 1634 and 1635, was to have two thousand acres of land, for the yearly rent of six hundred pounds of wheat, or about ten bushels. Whoever should transport fewer than ten, as above, was to have one hundred acres for himself, and such other allotments for wife and family as I have just mentioned.

If any settler, after the year 1635, should send or bring over any other settlers besides himself, for every five he was to have one thousand acres at the yearly rent of twenty shillings, payable in the commodities of the country. For less than five, he was to receive for himself and family as mentioned before, with the addition of fifty acres for every maid-servant under forty years of age, at the yearly rent of a shilling each fifty acres. Lord Baltimore thought that some of his young settlers would want wives, I suppose, which is not at all unlikely, in my opinion. It was proposed, moreover, to give each of the settlers who brought or sent over, as above, a small lot of land for his own maintenance.

In consequence of these liberal regulations, the St. Mary's colony increased rapidly. Nothing occurred, for some time, to interrupt their prosperity in any considerable degree, excepting a disturbance made by one Captain Clayborne. This gentleman belonged to the Virginian colony. He had long been in the habit of trafficking with the Maryland and other Indians on the Chesapeake, even before Calvert came over. That business had been lucrative to him, no doubt, and Clayborne was not very

well pleased, that the Catholic settlement at St. Mary's deprived him of the better part of his trade.

It appears that he and a few of his companions had made a settlement upon the island of Kent, in the Chesapeake, above St. Mary's, and within the limits of Lord Baltimore's charter. This he had done before Calvert's arrival, and by virtue of a license granted him by King James to trade with the Indians. He now laid claim to the soil of the island itself, and also to a territory occupied by a small colony which he had fixed at the mouth of the Susquehannah. Lord Baltimore had received some hints, even in England, of Clayborne's probable disposition to make trouble. He had, therefore, directed his brother, the governor, that if Clayborne did not submit to his government, he should be seized and punished.

He had not yet been taken, but, being incensed because Lord Baltimore had obtained a grant including his own unauthorized settlements, he used every means in his power to injure the young colony at St. Mary's. Among other things, he maliciously undertook to create a belief among the neighboring Indians, comprising the St. Mary Yoamacoës, that the new colonists were *Spaniards*, and enemies of the English in Virginia. It was the easier for him to do this, because the settlers being Catholics, their religious ceremonies much resembled those of the *Spaniards*.

The simple natives, at first, gave credit to these ridiculous falsehoods. The Yoamacoës even with-

drew suddenly and all together from St. Mary's. The colonists were then engaged in erecting comfortable habitations for themselves, in and about the town. But, alarmed at this unaccountable change in the behavior of the Indians, they ceased working on their buildings, and betook themselves to the erection of a fort for security. They accomplished the work in six weeks. They then returned to their several employments, as before. By this time, or soon after, the Indians had become sensible of the deception practised upon them, and they came again, as formerly, to the houses of the colonists.

Clayborne now resorted to open military force in his opposition to Lord Baltimore's government. Early in the year 1635, he granted a special commission, written and signed by himself, to a certain Ratcliffe Warren, commonly known as Lieutenant Warren, to seize and capture any of the vessels or pinnaces belonging to the people of St. Mary's. In pursuance of this authority, an armed pinnace belonging to Clayborne was fitted out, and manned by fourteen men. Among them was one Thomas Smith, a sort of highwayman-gentleman, who appears to have been equal to Warren in audacity, though second to him in command.

Governor Calvert was apprized of this formidable expedition. But not yet despairing of the salvation of the colony, he immediately equipped two boats in much the same manner with Warren's. They sailed under the command of a certain Esquire Cornwallis. The two hostile armaments met, some time in April

or May, 1635, in the Pocomoke river, on the eastern shore of the province. A battle was commenced between them, by Warren's men first, on Cornwallis's boats, as was afterwards said by the latter. He returned the fire without much ceremony or delay.

The result was, that one of his own men was killed, and two of Warren's men, with Warren himself. Clayborne's boat and crew were taken into custody. At the first courts of justice established at St. Mary's, a year or two after the event, a grand jury was impannelled and sworn, and two bills of indictment sent up to them, against Clayborne and Smith, for "piracy and murder." The former was charged as accessary or accomplice in the business, and the latter as the principal actor in it. Both were found true bills by the jury.

In consequence, at the next meeting of the Maryland assembly, a "bill of attainder" was passed against Clayborne, by which his property within the province became forfeited to the lord proprietor. He had himself fled, before this, to Virginia. Sentence was pronounced against Smith, in the following words, by the president of the assembly, sitting as a court of justice:—

"Thomas Smith, you have been indicted for felony and piracy. To your indictment you have pleaded not guilty; and you have been tried by the freemen in this general assembly, who have found you guilty. They now pronounce this sentence upon you: That you shall be carried from hence to the place whence you came; and from thence to the

place of execution ; and shall there be hanged by the neck till you be dead. And all your lands, goods and chattels shall be forfeited to the lord proprietor. May God have mercy on your soul !” The unfortunate ruffian was executed according to his sentence.

I have observed that Clayborne fled the country. But notwithstanding this and the fate of Smith, the inhabitants of the Isle of Kent, settled by the former, were far from submitting quietly to the new government. Its authority, indeed, was so openly resisted, that the governor was finally obliged to visit the island with an armed force, to quell and punish the refractory inhabitants. From this time they gave no more trouble.

I have now told you, my young friends, all that will interest you much in the early history of Maryland. The government went on very smoothly from the time of Clayborne’s defeat. In 1638, the first general assembly met together, and this was composed of representatives chosen from quite a number of hundreds and towns in different parts of the province, so rapidly had it already increased.

I have no more to say at present about the Middle States ; but you will permit me, in my particular regard for your welfare and good-will, to observe, that I shall rely quite confidently on your hearing my stories, hereafter, about the STATES AND TERRITORIES OF THE WEST.



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